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March 24, 1955 25¢

THE REPORTER

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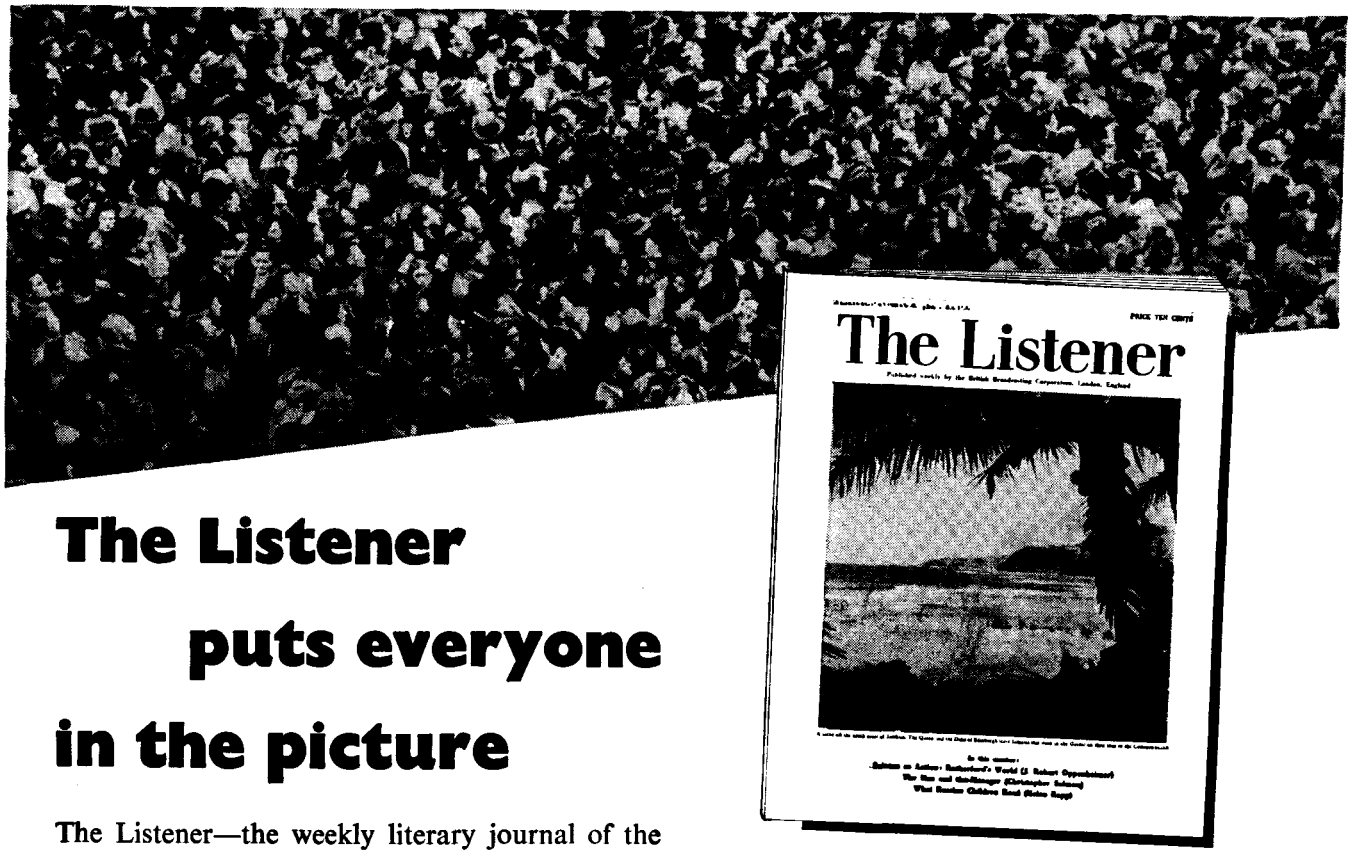

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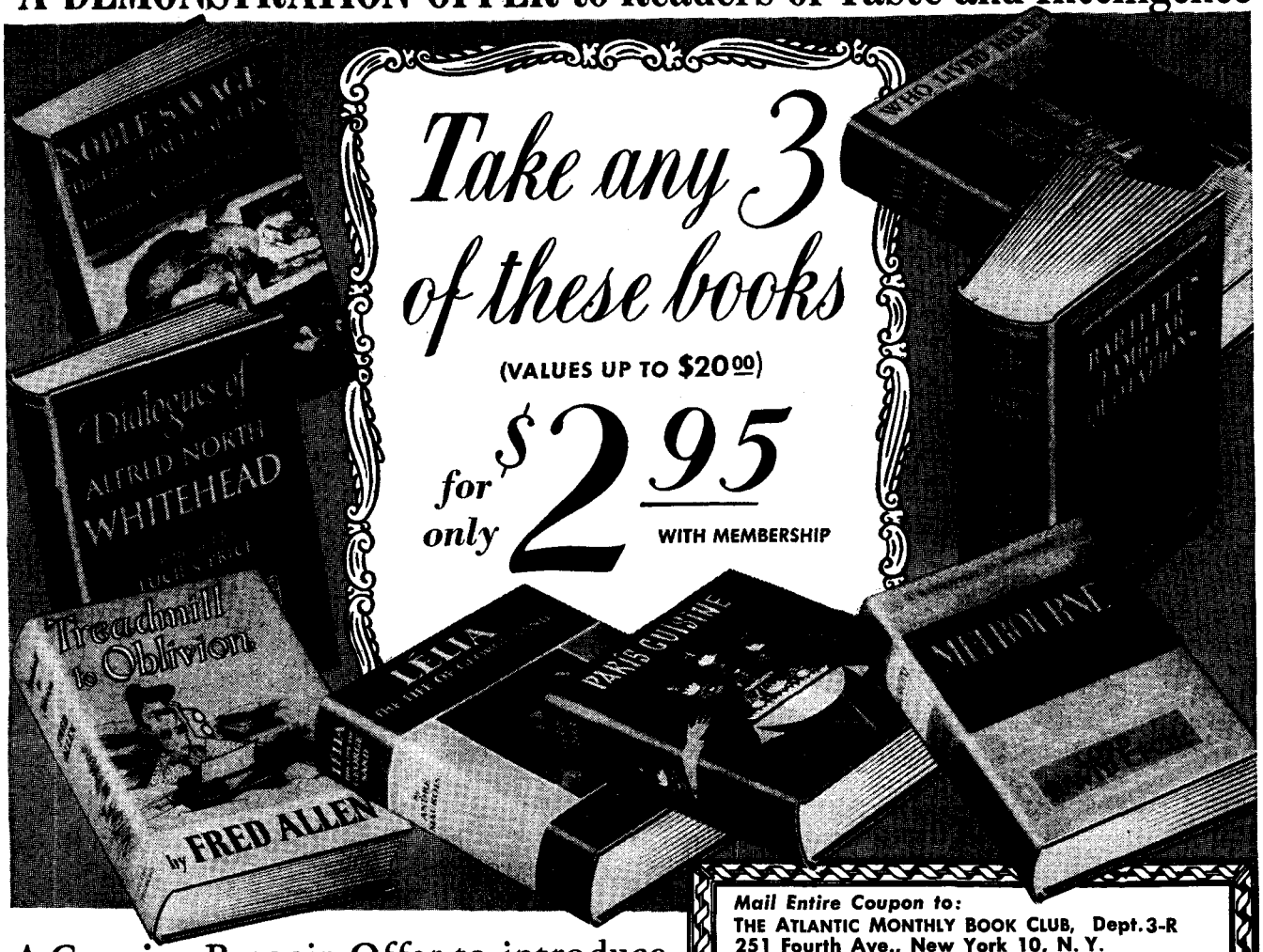

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

A Plug for Hearst

We pride ourselves on our independence and are happy whenever we agree with somebody with whom we don't have much in common. A few weeks ago we praised General MacArthur's Los Angeles speech in this space. Now we are glad to admit that we have read with considerable profit all that appeared in the New York *Journal-American* as a result of William Randolph Hearst, Jr.'s, visit to Moscow.

There was novelty, of course, in the mere fact that American journalists were granted long private interviews with Khrushchev, Molotov, Zhukov, and Bulganin. But what struck us most of all was the obvious intention of Mr. Hearst and his two companions, Kingsbury Smith and Frank Conniff, to find out what the Soviet leaders were actually thinking on important subjects. The questions, by and large, were intelligent. And the answers, allowing for the usual Soviet rhetoric, were certainly newsworthy. Even when Mr. Hearst got back home and out from behind whatever censorship had been imposed upon him, his pronouncements were notably free of the sort of bombast that we have come to associate with his papers.

Mr. Hearst seems to have concluded that as adversaries the Soviet leaders are tough but practical men, not maniacs. And he seems to feel that if we are tough but practical about what we want in the world, there may be some hope for the future. We never expected to find ourselves writing these words, but we agree with Mr. Hearst. We wonder now whether Westbrook Pegler, who has been neglecting us lately, will jump on us for praising his boss.

Watch on the Right

Several weeks ago, full-page advertisements appeared in the New York *Times* and Washington *Post and Times Herald* announcing the formation of a Committee of Endorsers, whose policy, it says, is based on Washington's Farewell Address, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Open Door Policy of 1922. "Our aim must be to neutralize, isolate, reduce, and eventually eliminate Communist Power," says the advertisement, blithely assuring the enemy that "we will not shrink from war."

It was an interesting advertisement, buttressed by eleven "specific" suggestions for improving our foreign policy. The suggestions, if not necessarily novel, were certainly definite: Exterminate the Communist conspiracy in the United States, withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union, oppose world government, and base foreign policy "solidly on Moral Law, Patriotism, Enlightened Nationalism, and the Teachings of Christ." There were sixty-three signatories, including Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, Reverend James W. Fifield, Alfred Kohlberg, H.V. Kaltenborn, Adolphe Menjou, Clarence Manion, Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah, Freda Utley, Generals Stratemeyer, Wedemeyer, and Chennault; and Harry Truman's Secretary of the Treasury, John W. Snyder.

We went to see the organization's secretary (and the only official mentioned in the advertisement) at his offices in downtown Washington. He was, we found, Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, the former president of Mount Mary College for Women in Milwaukee and the former editor of the *Catholic School Journal*. He was an elderly gentleman with a ruddy face, a shock of white hair, and a nervous titter, who told us very little else about himself. How did you get your job? "Tee hee hee. They found me." Who found you? "Tee hee hee. We don't tell."

Who was behind the new organization? A rather fretful laugh this time, and an impatient gesture toward the advertisement. "You can see who signed it," he said. "We have nothing to hide." But who were the spark plugs? "Oh," said the Doctor. "I'm not at liberty to tell."

Between giggles we found that the new organization represents a fairly serious attempt to co-ordinate the right wing. Its main purpose is to

MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

In Gettysburg, the middle of the road
Is where you walk. The cardinals and jays
Flicker and twit impartially, and the toad
Frozen against the dull brown gutter stays
Still till the nearest tread. Whether to right
Or whether to left of the lane, the world is one;
Oak, laurel, berry bushes, the pale delight
Of sky through twigs, the early budding begun
Most tenderly. Here is the path of peace,
Where the only pull is toward all living things
And the only quarrels among the loud high geese
And the nesting birds, each claiming where he sings.

The middle of the road, excepting here,
Is a tight wire strung from fear to fear.

—SEC

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act as clearinghouse for the organizations already in the field, and to find and line up new ones. It is well financed, with enough money already donated to last for the next year and a half; and it is carefully organized. "We began planning this a year ago," Fitzpatrick told us. "I guess it was the Army-McCarthy hearings that set it off. You'll notice that we have a lot of military men on the list."

About a month before the advertisement appeared a letter was sent to two hundred selected individuals. The letter, impressively marked CONFIDENTIAL, enclosed the platform as it eventually appeared, and promised no formal organization, no interpretation of policy by officials, and no implementation of policy. "That's up to the individual," Fitzpatrick commented. It was to be a strictly grass-roots affair, no dues or membership, reaching eventually to both political parties. "We're a bipartisan organization," he told us cheerfully. "Didn't you notice John Snyder's name on the list?"

There had been an overwhelming response to the advertisement, with requests for twenty thousand reprints the first day. Dr. Fitzpatrick is optimistic about the future, pleased at the caliber of the signatories, and regretful only that no Senators had been willing to support him publicly. "I would have thought that Mundt would be a natural for this," he commented. "And Senator Bricker, too. Why, we even endorse the Bricker amendment."

And Senator McCarthy? We asked.

That produced a loud chuckle but no comment. "I guess Senators are reluctant to sign things these days," he said.

Lucky Chickens

Although we are only vaguely interested in the poultry business, we called up the Granite Grit Institute of America, Inc., when an informant told us that they had made a record of a chicken gizzard grinding feed with the aid of granite grit.

With dispatch and courtesy they sent us this record with a covering note to say that "the engineer had to construct a special microphone to pick up the faint sound." Enclosed also was a picture of an alarmed chicken, forcibly flattened while its gizzard was amplified.

The actual sound of the gizzard grinding *without* granite grit was like dust on the record, while the sound of the gizzard grinding *with* grit was like bad static in a thunderstorm, crackling loudly in a discernible rhythm. It was very impressive, and we feel sure that the record is destined to be the high spot of many a poultry convention.

Might we suggest that citizens be provided with what granite grit provides for hens: an intellectual roughage for the better digestion of news?

Turn for the Better?

There is some uneasiness in the attitude of both political parties toward the government's security program. When the Eighty-fourth Congress convened, the Democrats were building up Senator Olin D. Johnston's investigation of the "numbers racket" as the big political news of 1955, and the Republicans were reiterating that their security program was the best possible. There have been some changes since, probably inspired by three important events: public indignation over the Wolf Ladejinsky case, the agricultural expert who had been endorsed by both Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and General Douglas MacArthur; the forthright criticism of the program by Harry P. Cain, a former Senator and now a Presidential appointee to the Subversive Activities Control Board; and the public recantations of some of the government's prominent informers.

We questioned people in the know in both parties. Although the Johnston investigation is still scheduled for some very indefinite date, the Democratic leaders are now united in plugging Senator Humphrey's and Senator John C. Stennis's bill for a bipartisan blue-ribbon commission to re-examine the entire program. Many Democratic leaders are afraid that the Johnston investigation will result only in another noisy round of accusations. And finally, many are genuinely sick of the whole thing. In effect, they are saying to the Republicans: "We'll quit investigating the investigations if you'll give up the numbers racket."

The advantage of the Humphrey-Stennis approach is that it is "constructive," a word close to the heart of Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson. Moreover, it is jointly sponsored by a Northerner and a Southerner. Senator Stennis told us that he decided while on the Watkins Committee that the whole subject needed a nonpolitical approach. "Security is not a partisan matter," he said. "I think the President would welcome a commission if he understood the spirit in which we propose it." Humphrey is now holding hearings.

Although the Democratic leadership is thoroughly back of the commission idea, nobody really knows how the Republicans will react. The Administration attempted to duck the question by coming out recently with Attorney General Brownell's changes in the security program. Although the revisions amount to an admission that improvement was possible, in the words of the Washington *Post and Times Herald* "they do not materially change what, in theory at least, have been requirements all along." The big question is whether the Administration will stop at that.

There are pressures even within the Republican Party that must be taken into account. The Justice Department is openly divided on the Peters case (which brings before the Supreme Court the question of confrontation of accusers), with Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff publicly abstaining from the Department's brief. The whole security question has been debated endlessly at Cabinet meetings; many Republican Senators are restive. Ex-Senator Cain is now preparing another blast, and sooner or later the Administration will have to give him some kind of an answer. In fact, Senator Humphrey has already asked the Justice Department for an official analysis of Cain's first speech.

And, in the meantime, the pressure for re-examination builds up in the strangest places. Congressman Martin Dies, for example, told us that he was deeply concerned about the security program. "We've gone to the other extreme today," he said. "It is just as wrong to be careless about people as it was, back when I was investigating, to be indifferent to the Communist threat."

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CORRESPONDENCE

PARTNERSHIP

To the Editor: The article by Senator Neuberger on the Republican "partnership" policy in the development of natural resources (*The Reporter*, February 24) was a timely statement of something that needs to be said. The more I hear of this policy the more I am reminded of a ditty by Lewis Carroll describing another partnership.

I passed by his garden, and marked,
with one eye,
How the Owl and the Panther were
sharing a pie:
The Panther took pie-crust, and gravy,
and meat,
While the Owl had the dish as its share
of the treat.
When the pie was all finished, the Owl,
as a boon,
Was kindly permitted to pocket the
spoon:
While the Panther received knife and
fork with a growl,
And concluded the banquet by—

Like the Republicans, Carroll leaves untold the story of the conclusion of this partnership program.

JOHN W. HOPKIRK
Endicott, New York

To the Editor: As Senator Neuberger points out, the government is surely getting the short end of this "partnership" deal. What with "giveaways" and "big men's bills" zipping through Congress, the Idaho Power barons holding open meetings in Augusta, Maine, and poor ole President Eisenhower left with the revolving-door concession at Macy's, things are certainly coming to a pretty pass. It would sure serve "them" right if U.S. Steel and Alcoa were nationalized; clearly, the government is left with the non-money-making end of the national defense business.

The next time we're to be saved from the "power octopus," let's hear from someone who advocates something a little more definitive than the freewheeling Ranger Station.

ARTHUR K. DUNLOP
Berkeley, California

(Representative Harris Ellsworth offers a rebuttal of Senator Neuberger's arguments on page 20 of this issue.)

POLICY IN THE PACIFIC

To the Editor: Max Ascoli sums up well the shameful, cowardly, unthinking conduct of the Democrats—my Democrats—in voting almost solidly for the dreadfully ambiguous Formosa resolution (*The Reporter*, March 10). (Thank the Lord for Morse and Lehman!) Why did they thus abdicate their responsibility toward the citizens of the nation? To my mind the Democrats feared being labeled again as being "soft on Communism." In a recent broadcast to Oregon Senator Kefauver expressed regret for his aye vote. Probably many other Democratic Senators (and perhaps some Republicans) feel ashamed and regretful today.

At any rate the Republican who thought of this brilliant maneuver to jockey the Democrats into voting for the resolution deserves a medal from the G.O.P. For should the result be war, it could not be called "Eisenhower's War" as Truman was linked with the Korean conflict. But then it may not matter a particle of fallout whose war it is.

ALLEN KLEIN
Mount Vernon, New York

To the Editor: General Thomas R. Phillips's article "Point of No Return" (*The Reporter*, February 24) is the most intelligent and informed criticism of the proposed "new look" I have read to date.

One factor (social and political, not military) he mentioned, but did not elaborate upon, was that we are tying our diplomatic hands by restricting ourselves to military action only in a showdown. Should more local aggression occur in Indo-China or Indonesia or Formosa at a time when we have converted to predominantly atomic weapons, the force of world opinion and our own reluctance to incur the undying enmity and hatred of millions of Asians would most likely prevent our using even limited atomic weapons because even such small use would set off a total atomic war. So we would find ourselves unable to move against each local aggression because it wasn't of sufficient strategic importance to warrant an all-out war. But these little areas can pile up, as we are finding out, and it wouldn't be very long before the whole of Asia was one Communist bloc—intent on further expansion.

We talk a great deal about the value of negotiation. I'm afraid President Eisenhower's predominantly nuclear-type defense system would completely hamstring our diplomats. Instead of bargaining from strength we would be begging for mercy from a completely defenseless position. Their knowledge that we are loath to use our atomic defenses would strip from our diplomats any vestige of strength at the bargaining table; it would be an idiotic tale of one concession after another — until Asia was completely absorbed.

CLAIRE SCHIFF
Newark, New Jersey

DEMOCRACY

To the Editor: Often I have been offended by the illogical and irrelevant opinions which appear in your correspondence columns. But none has ever been as outrageous as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s, rebuttal in your issue of February 10 to "The New American Radicals" by Peter Viereck, which originally

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appeared in your issue of December 30, 1954. Professor Schlesinger obviously failed to comprehend the distinction between "direct" and "indirect" democracy.

"Indirect" democracy Viereck viewed as a modification of popular whims which are often ill considered and, therefore, self-defeating. In the liberal mind the "pure" or "direct" or "town-meeting" democracy is usually equated with the ultimate of democracy, and deviations from or adaptations of this type are perversions or betrayals of democracy, regardless of the complexity of modern problems and the demonstrated incompetency of the electorate. The distinction between "direct" and "indirect" is essentially the difference between unrestrained, impulsive, and ill-conceived actions and policies fomented in the average mind, as opposed to the filtration and adaptation of those actions and policies by a relatively detached executive, legislature, and judiciary.

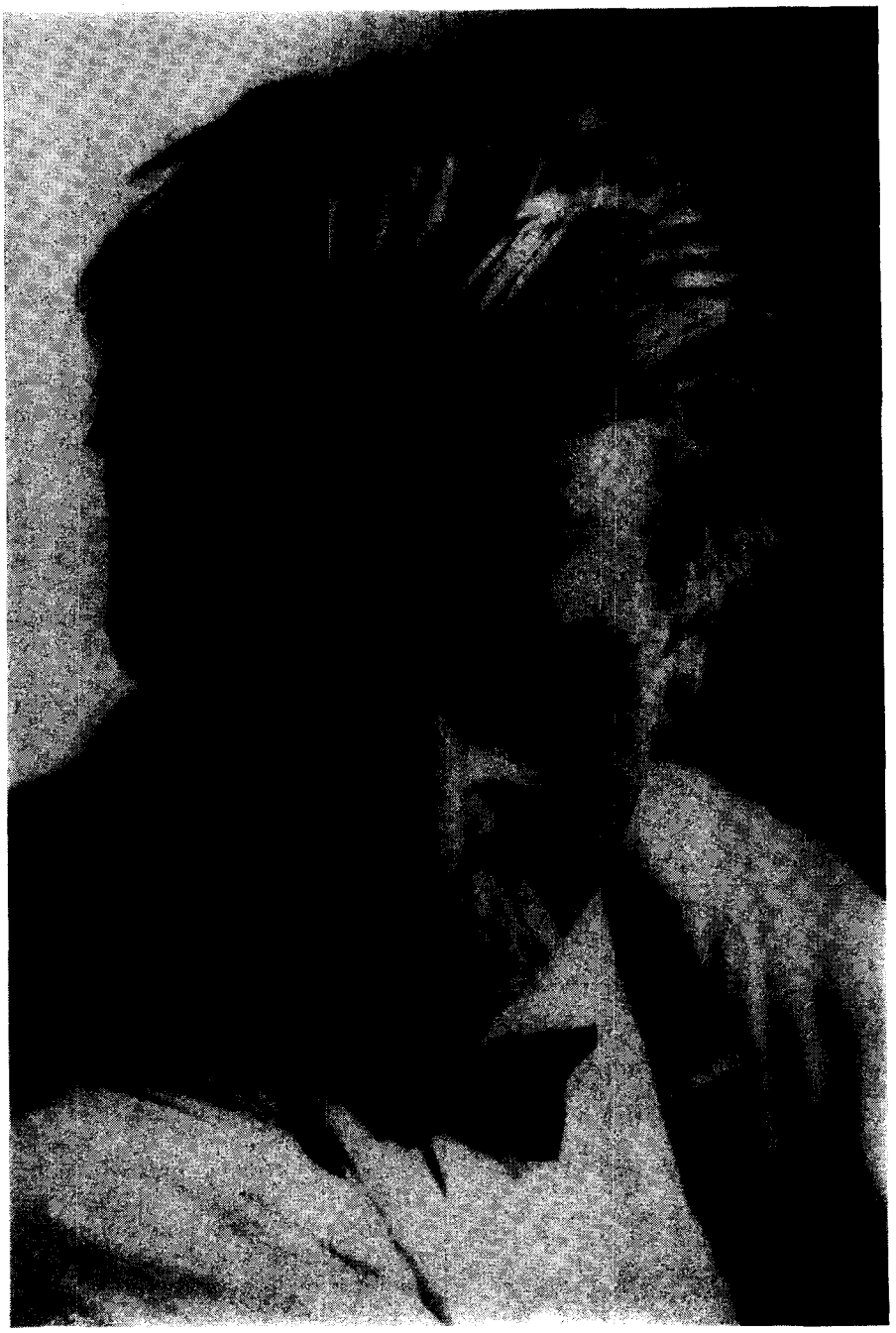
Surely, Professor Schlesinger has viewed with dismay the alarming propensity of American voters to reject, by referendum, proposals to revise or replace antiquated state constitutions even when leaders of both parties unite to urge a new constitution (as happened in Pennsylvania in 1953, for example). The inability to penetrate the minds of most American voters (or, indeed, even to stimulate them to vote) with such a concrete and bipartisan issue illustrates "direct" democracy, fathered and furthered by ignorance and adoration of the mass man. "Direct" democracy often means no action, improper action, or meaningless action.

Professor Schlesinger's self-righteous reference to the Constitution's, Madison's, Adams's, and Wilson's advocacy of his opinions as contrasted to Mr. Viereck's is the vilest tactic conceivable from a man reputed to be a scholar. In short, Professor Schlesinger is enlisting Madison, Wilson, Adams, and the Constitution (he neglected God and motherhood, which are also popular) in his backfield. Thereby he attempts to add *prima facie* evidence and respectability to his position, quite apart from its merits or demerits. This ruse is common, as is the reverse of it, which involves claiming that Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, or any other rogue is quarterbacking an opponent's thoughts. Professor Schlesinger used the stratagem most advantageously, however, because dead men and intangible institutions never are able to refute their association with his pet preconceptions, and the device is extremely effective when appealing to that great personification of "direct" democracy—the uninformed citizen.

The simple truism that society needs safety valves answers no questions; it merely implies that only Professor Schlesinger and his team are in favor of such valves. The crucial questions are what type of valves, for whom, and set for what pressures? The greatest need now is to let the minority of nonconformists and thinkers let off steam, but that valve evidently doesn't work when the "direct" pressure on the other side is too great. Perhaps our concern should be to channel the steam's force toward its own fulfillment rather than idolize its brute power.

RUSSELL E. TEASDALE
Austin, Texas

THE SOUND OF GENIUS...



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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THERE HAS been a great deal of talk in this country about Operation CANDOR, but whatever candor our leaders have displayed on nuclear subjects has come in dribbles. Once again Churchill has shown the way. When the great old man got up in Parliament, he did not merely announce the decision of Her Majesty's Government to build hydrogen bombs; he gave realistic details about these horrible weapons.

Max Ascoli's editorial examines the effects upon the rest of our alliance of the momentous British decision, which is then analyzed in detail by **Alastair Hetherington,** Foreign Editor of the Manchester *Guardian.*

The utter candor of the British must be contrasted not only with our own diluted brand of the same product but also with the almost complete blackout of news on atomic development in the Soviet press, described here by **Leo Gruliow,** Editor of the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press.*

WHEN WE published Senator Richard L. Neuberger's article "'Partnership' vs. the Public Interest" in our issue of February 24, we promised "to give both sides a chance to be heard." Like Senator Neuberger, **Representative Harris Ellsworth** was elected by the voters of Oregon, but he is a Republican and supports the President's program for hydroelectric development.

Ever since the privilege of sitting in on a Presidential press conference was extended to every citizen who has a TV set, there has been a great deal of discussion among White House correspondents. Our Washington Editor, **Douglass Cater,** sums up the arguments and concludes that although the televised press conference may not be particularly useful in making the public better informed, it has turned out to be very useful indeed to the President. Mr. Eisenhower shows up well in these conferences, much better than in a fireside chat under the theatrical tutelage of Robert Montgomery or in a slickly rehearsed Cabinet "debate."

No law has yet been passed in this country to take away the citizenship of Communists, and yet a recent decision by the supreme court of California would seem to exclude them from something that even foreigners enjoy here—the chance to earn a living. **Paul Jacobs** is an authority on labor and civil-rights problems.

Nearly everyone has heard about the Soviet diplomat in Australia who chose freedom—and of his handsome wife who joined him at the last minute before the plane took off—but it is not so well known that the Petrovs' defection set off a crisis in one of Australia's two major political parties. **Douglas Wilkie** is on the staff of the Melbourne *Sun.*

Ray Alan, a frequent contributor, explains the background of the recent turmoil in the Arab League.

ONLY A FEW of our metropolitan newspapers treat the publication of books as important news. The difficulties of a book editor on a paper that considers book reviews nothing but high-class filler material is described by **Luise Putcamp, Jr.,** who speaks from experience.

Robert Gordon describes the plight of a man who loved music but got lost in the verbiage of critics. The story has a happy ending.

Viking will publish **Alan Barth's** *Government by Investigation* later this month.

Nora Magid is on the staff of *The Reporter.*

Three decades ago after the death of Lenin, the Soviet leaders faced the same problem their successors face now after the death of Stalin—should they concentrate on building up heavy industry or on the production of consumer goods, including food? They cannot do both, as **Theodore Draper** explains, and the problem is not likely to be solved as long as the Soviet system endures.

Cover by **Fred Zimmer.**

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THE REPORTER

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

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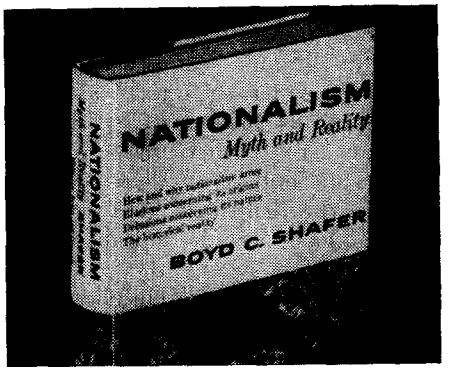

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Britain 'Goes It Alone'

"How many divisions has the Pope?" Joseph Stalin's alleged retort to Roosevelt may well be one of the many legends of the Yalta Conference. But certainly at that time, a little over ten years ago, a country that could not parade large numbers of foot soldiers and armored cars could, at best, claim only an honorary membership in the community of nations.

Nuclear weapons have become the token of power in our days. This is what Sir Winston's speech and Her Majesty's Government's White Paper told the British people and the world. Great Britain had rendered unique services in the development of nuclear science. During the war its best experts had gone to work in American laboratories—and the atomic bomb was made. After the war the United States imposed on its nuclear scientists the severance of partnership with their Canadian and British colleagues. And so the British decided to make their own A-bomb but promptly fell behind when the H-bomb came along. Now Churchill has come out and told both the United States and Russia that if the H-bomb is to be the ultimate token of power, Britain can make it, Britain can take it, and Britain can dish it out.

Sir Winston's proud decision will in a couple of years materially increase the Allied stockpile and thus affect Russian plans. But at this very moment, when the British H-bomb is still on the drawing board, Sir Winston's announcement has made a profound change in the Grand Alliance. The Grand Alliance has become something very close to a two-party coalition.

Until now, with all the niceties of sovereign inter-Allied equality dutifully observed, the alliance actually has been run as a one-party system. The one party, of course, was the United States. Our nation was never to any extent tyrannical or overbearing in running the alliance. Indeed, many of the Allies themselves frequently begged our government to be more decisive and strong-willed in dealing with them.

But when it came to discussions about the use—or even the knowledge—of absolute weapons, which our country was the only one within the alliance to possess, then we were paralyzed by a sickly combination of conceit, mistrust, and fear. We came to believe that the secrets of nuclear warfare were a God-given privilege of the American people and that the peace of the world depended on their remaining an American monopoly. It must be added that Sir Winston himself has contributed to this delusion.

Now, however, there is the British party within the Grand Alliance. The British have nothing remotely comparable to our wealth and power, yet their actual and, above all, their potential constituency is much larger. They have the Commonwealth on their side, which includes great nations like India—nations which we have never ruled and never exploited and yet which mistrust us. One of the reasons for this mistrust is our real talent for collecting and succoring lame-duck governments in Asia.

Even our Allies in western Europe are likely to find their spokesmen in Great Britain. If war comes to Europe, it will be fought, both by the Americans and by the Russians, with weapons the Europeans do not possess and do not know much about—but that America has already parked on European soil.

The new British line of action—parallel to ours yet independent of ours—is likely to make quite an impact on our western allies. Actually, there is scarcely any section of the non-Communist world that does not offer the British the chance of enlarging their constituency, both within and beyond the alliance. The influence of the British party in the alliance is likely to become particularly strong when, according to Sir Winston's frightening timetable, the "saturation point" is reached and the alliance will have to deal with Moscow if reciprocal ultimate destruction is to be avoided. Until that "saturation point" is reached, which may be sooner than we expect, we shall probably move uneasily from one horn of the dilemma to the other: Should we reduce the tension that produced the armaments race or the armaments race that produced the tension? When the time for final negotiations comes and we have to move toward both objectives simultaneously, infinite skill and firmness will be required of us.

There are no reasons for doubting the loyalty of the British party. Indeed, we should be happy to see alternative policies devised within the Grand Alliance. We should see to it that the coalition between the two parties works effectively, each checking and balancing the other, and both competing to further the common cause.

Britain has gone it alone in the common interest, which includes also our own. Yet, considering how large the British constituency is and how much it may still grow, we must revise our whole policy toward the alliance. Undoubtedly our power is and will remain superior. But it would be too bad if we were to remain smugly satisfied with this advantage, leaving to the British superiority in international prestige, diplomatic skill, and brains.

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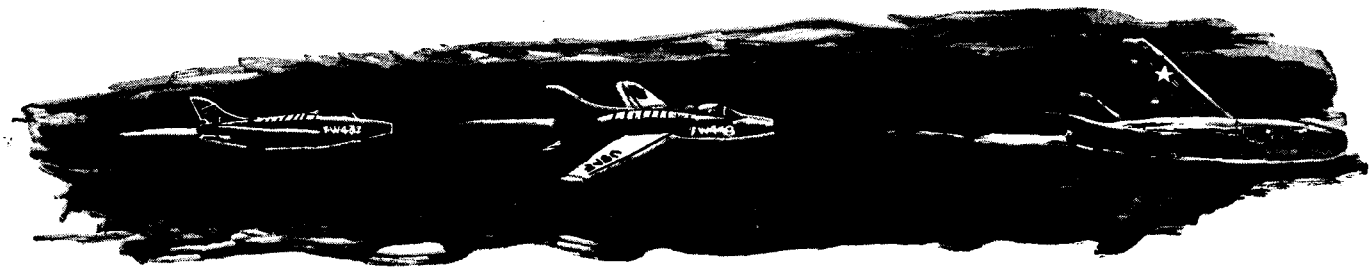

Sir Winston Orders a Bomb

ALASTAIR HETHERINGTON

LONDON

THE DECISION that Britain is to build its own hydrogen bombs, its own long-range bomber force, and its own guided missiles was announced in Parliament on February 17. It amounts to something like a Declaration of Independence from the United States.

Britain is going to duplicate or supplement a large part of the American effort in strategic air power and thermonuclear weapons. The Government thus hopes to make its voice more audible both in Washington and in Moscow and hopes to restore the United Kingdom to the status of a great power, less dependent on American protection. The Government does not say this; it prefers to emphasize the vital importance of the "Grand Alliance" and its strong wish to continue close co-operation with the United States. But the decision would never have been reached if co-operation had been closer in the past.

Sir Winston Churchill explained the decision to the House of Commons in a speech that was profoundly moving to those who heard it. He said that the Soviet Union at present has neither hydrogen bombs nor the means of delivering them on North American targets. But in three or four years it will have them. That gives the western alliance an interval in which to prepare its defenses. Britain must reinforce with its own hydrogen weapons the great power of the United States Strategic Air Command. It was a speech packed with information and asides, but here is the essential theme:

"There is only one sane policy for the free world in the next few years. That is what we call defense through deterrents. This we have already adopted and proclaimed. These deterrents may at any time become the parents of disarmament, provided that they deter. To make our contribution to the deterrent we must ourselves possess the most up-to-date nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them."

In a later passage he discussed whether Britain could have left the effort in bombs and bombers to the United States alone, limiting Britain's share to comment and criticism of American policies. Of this course he said:

"Personally, I cannot feel that we should have much influence over their policy or actions, wise or unwise, while we are largely dependent, as we are today, upon their protection. We too must possess substantial deterrent power of our own."

NOWHERE in the Prime Minister's speech or in the Government's annual White Paper on defense is there a word of criticism of the United States. Quite the reverse. The Government is thankful for the American share in NATO and SEATO, for the financial grants to Britain, for the exchange of information on new weapons, and for the protective shield now provided by U.S. air power. The gratitude is genuine. It is shared by millions of people in Britain, ordinary men everywhere from London to Wigan and Wick. We British well know that without the American alliance, Britain might not have survived as a free country. Do not be misled because our newspapers use their freedom to speak plainly, even harshly, about particular American policies. We know who our friends are and we like them.

THAT, of course, is one reason why there has been criticism of the Government's decision. Why duplicate the American effort? Why spend vast sums when American strategic air power protects us? If we must, then why not share the fruits of our research with the United States and ask for the same in return? Can we afford the cost when Britain already carries proportionately one of the heaviest defense budgets in the world? Is it not piling Pelion on Ossa (or Ben Nevis on Mount Whitney)? These questions are being asked and will be asked increasingly in coming weeks, although outright

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opposition to the Government's decision is not common.

The Government's answers to these questions—some given with formal authority and some informally—are revealing. Sir Winston told the House that Britain must have a direct share in the supreme deterrent to war. He and the Cabinet are convinced that thermonuclear weapons are so important as a deterrent that Britain cannot be left out. The Government sees these weapons as having hopeful implications: Because they make the power of retaliation so tremendous and so terrible, they "significantly reduced the risk of war on a major scale," in the words of the White Paper. British atomic scientists have no doubt that they can make hydrogen or lithium bombs—and what's more, make them more cheaply than the United States can. The Government has ordered them to go ahead.

'Prompt and Overwhelming'

Will the British weapons add to the existing American deterrent? The Government says "Yes" and the critics say "No." The Government says that the weapons will help persuade the Soviet leaders that war would be madness. The critics say that if American air power hasn't persuaded the Soviet leaders already, then the British weapons will make little difference. The critics question whether Russian calculations will be altered if, for example, four hundred British bombers are added to twelve hundred American, or if 250 British bombs are added to a stock of 850 American nuclear weapons. Presumably what matters in the Kremlin's reckoning is the certain knowledge that Kiev and Leningrad would be hit. Whether they are hit by British bombs on the second day of a war or by American bombs on the tenth day is relatively unimportant. That, at least, is what some critics have said, but the Government believes the difference might be important indeed.

But there is a second and more significant factor—uncertainty about American strategic plans. The R.A.F. and U.S.A.F. do not always see eye to eye, nor are they fully informed of each other's intentions. Neither knows exactly what the other plans to do in the event of war. The British view, expressed in the White Paper, is that we must "so organise . . . as to enable us to survive and to defeat the enemy if all our efforts for peace should fail." In other words, we must be ready for what would happen if we cannot come to agreement with the Soviet Union and if the strategic deterrent to war does not succeed. In that event Britain must be ready to prevent a devastating attack with hydrogen bombs on the British Isles. As the White Paper says, "A prompt and overwhelming counter-offensive with the most powerful weapons available offers at present the surest means of limiting the scale of such attacks." In particular, we must eliminate at once the enemy airfields from which a thermonuclear attack on Britain might be launched.

To do this, we British cannot rely on the U.S.A.F. The Prime Minister made the point in a carefully worded passage:

"There are scores of airfields from which the Soviets could launch attacks with hydrogen bombs as soon as they have the bombers to carry

them. . . . Unless we make a contribution of our own—that is the point which I am pressing—we cannot be sure that in an emergency the resources of other powers would be planned exactly as we would wish or that the targets which would threaten us most would be given what we consider the necessary priority, or the deserved priority, in the first few hours."

THE GOVERNMENT'S belief is that the U.S.A.F. would want to protect its own bases in England but would have numerous other tasks at the outbreak of war. For Britain's survival, as the Prime Minister has said more than once, it is essential to destroy the Russian air bases "in the first few hours of the war." A maximum of twenty to thirty hours has been mentioned. The U.S. Strategic Air Command might eventually deal with them, but perhaps not for some days. Its planning is said to give highest priority to the attack on enemy cities—to disrupting government and destroying morale, as at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Whether terror raids would have quite that effect on a country not ready for surrender, as Japan was, is questionable; there is also the doubt, which inwardly worries some people in the R.A.F., whether such a strategy can be justified morally. Of course, the ideas of the U.S.A.F. may be changing. But meanwhile the British Government has decided that it must build its own strategic bombing force.

It has been asked how the R.A.F. could quickly locate the enemy bases to attack, especially as they may be deep in Russian territory. Although no public answer can be obtained, the problem is evidently one the R.A.F. thinks it can solve. It has also been asked whether a first Russian blow on Britain—an atomic Pearl Harbor—might not prevent the R.A.F. from even starting its counteroffensive. Some answers to that question have been given. Not all the British bomber force would be at home stations, since Cyprus and other points eastward would be available; fighters and anti-aircraft missiles of Britain could probably stop much of the first Russian flight; and with proper radar and other preparations the British bombers ought to be in the air before the first Russian flight arrives. It is axiomatic, of course, that a major war will never start unless the Russians begin it by striking first.

No Flinching

The Government decision has met little opposition in Parliament, the press, or the country. The lack of opposition has taken the Government itself by surprise. Sir Winston spoke of the risk of "panic," but people have responded well to the Government's appeal for "no flinch-

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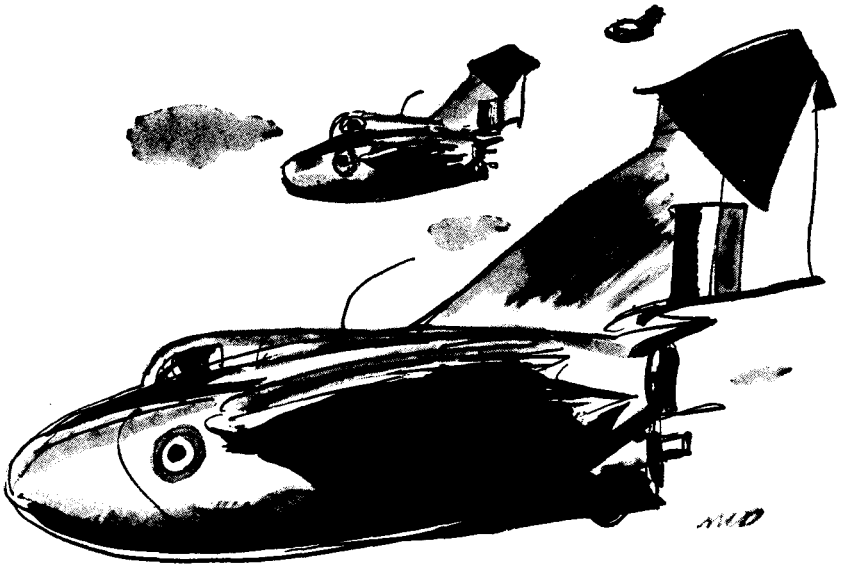
ing." Perhaps many have not yet been able to grasp fully what it all means. The prospects of hydrogen warfare are so terrible as to be almost beyond normal imagination. It is notable that one of the most widely quoted passages in Sir Winston's speech was where he asked poignantly, "Which way shall we turn to save our lives and the future of the world?" and wondered what would lie before "little children playing their merry games . . . if God wearied of mankind." Here he woke a responsive echo in many minds.

In Parliament only about eight Members declared themselves directly against the decision—eight out of over six hundred. The Labour Party did not question it officially. The majority, led by Mr. Attlee, definitely supported it, but Mr. Aneurin Bevan used the opportunity to challenge the official party leaders more openly than for months past. Not even he, however, came out plainly against building hydrogen bombs and long-range bombers. He simply tried to make an issue—and here he succeeded—whether hydrogen bombs would be used against any aggression in Europe, however small. He gathered less than seventy Members into his minority group.

The majority within Labour raised two particular points of criticism. Could Britain not work in closer partnership with the United States, and could it afford the cost of so great a program? The first point was raised by Mr. Denis Healey, speaking second for Labour, and the other by Mr. John Strachey, the former Secretary for War. Both points have also been mentioned in the press—cautiously by the *Times* and critically by the Manchester *Guardian*.

It is, of course, a pity that Britain cannot work in closer partnership with the United States. The duplication of effort seems senseless. Each country is carrying out a vast program of research, development, and production in isolation from the other. Knowledge is not being shared. As one Member unkindly put it, the purpose of Britain's hydrogen bomb is to blow up the McMahon Act. True, the Act was modified last year, but we are still very far from pooling our knowledge and resources. American laboratories are closed to British scientists, and they can get no nearer the testing grounds than Las Vegas. As a result, British laboratories and firing grounds like Woomera are closed to Americans. There is no sharing of nuclear discoveries, no coordination of research. Each country is going its own way, even in the less sensitive fields of aerodynamic and electronic research, although collaboration on guided missiles has been greatly improved.



Who's Ahead?

One cannot tell, of course, where British research is ahead of American or vice versa. Secrecy prevents governments as well as the public from knowing. But a few points may be suggested.

¶ There are reports that Britain's thermonuclear bomb will use a lithium isotope as its fuel instead of tritium. Lithium is said to be cheaper and easier to handle. The British bomb, in fact, is to be a "poor man's bomb"—but none the worse for that. Sir William Penney's team of scientists is said to be well forward with work on this weapon.

¶ In the field of guided missiles British authorities hope by 1958 to have weapons far ahead of anything American. British comment on the American Nike anti-aircraft missile is uncomplimentary. It is supposed to be good for training and for persuading the citizens of New York, Washington, Chicago, and other cities that they are well protected, but no good for operational service. The Russian aircraft it would have to meet are supposed to fly at forty to fifty thousand feet and at five to six hundred miles per hour; they would probably come not in ones and twos but in groups; and missiles in equal numbers ought to stop them thirty to forty miles from the target. It is said that Britain will have such missiles within three years, and that nothing else with a lower performance is worth putting into production so far. This may be a tall story to camouflage failures of production, but it may be true, and British research may actually be gaining a lead in this field.

¶ The Vulcan bomber, with its vast triangular wing, may look ungainly, but it is said to be an aerodynamic marvel. What is more, the R.A.F. hopes to fit the Vulcan with a device that will let it reach its target without interference from enemy anti-aircraft missiles. This is said to be at a very early stage of experiment, but if successful it would be vital.

¶ A new British radio-navigation and bomb-control system was mentioned briefly by the Minister of Supply during the Parliamentary debate.

IT IS UNFORTUNATE that the United States should not be given the benefit of these discoveries. It is also unfortunate that Britain should be unable to harmonize its bomb and bomber programs with that of the United States. Fuchs, Burgess and

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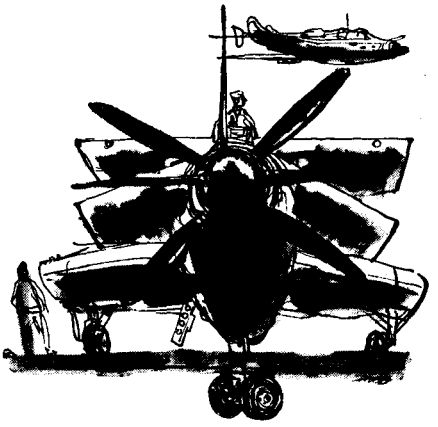
Maclean, Pontecorvo—these names provide one reason. But there have been American security cases also. Does mere possibility of risk of loss through turncoats outweigh the very real and very present loss through isolating research and development in our two countries? That is for people in Washington to decide. In



the absence of a decision the British Government, following America's example, has decided to "go it alone" in thermonuclear affairs.

A great gain from sharing would have been in saving money. As it is, the cost of Britain's program is causing concern. The White Paper gives figures only for the coming financial year, and they are slightly lower than this year's. That is thanks to cuts in the Army and Navy (cuts very unwelcome to those services). But costs for 1955-1956 are only the beginning. Thermonuclear weapons are only at the stage of experiment, not production. Two of the three new long-range bombers (the Vulcan and Victor, the third being the Valiant) are still under test, and full production costs have yet to be met. The guided-missile program similarly faces mounting costs two or three years hence. The Government has announced that there is to be an important expansion of fundamental research facilities; part of the cost will be borne by private industry, but much must fall on the taxpayer. The main measures of civil defense for cities—mobile rescue and relief columns, evacuation, shelters, and so on—have been deferred until more is known about radioactive fallout, so that is another account to be awaited.

What will all this cost four or five years hence? Already the British defense budget is astronomical by prewar standards. British taxation is among the heaviest in the world—heavier even than that in the United States. Members of Parliament and private citizens hope that the Government will soon give an estimate of the eventual cost of the new program. It will be a heavy price to pay for making Britain's voice heard more clearly in Washington and Moscow, but if it must be borne, it will be—in spite of ructions in the House of Commons—for Sir Winston Churchill is not alone in wanting to restore Britain's status as a great power.

Two comments I have heard in the past few days are relevant. One was from a British officer of high rank, who said: "When we put our views on strategic problems to the Pentagon two or three years ago they had a tendency to ask, 'Who's talking? What have you got to fight with?' They don't do that so much now." The other was from a printer who rarely offers political comment. He said something like this: "So we're to have these B-2 bombs. Maybe we can make both sides see some sense and keep a bit quieter. They might even do a bit of disarmament, you know."

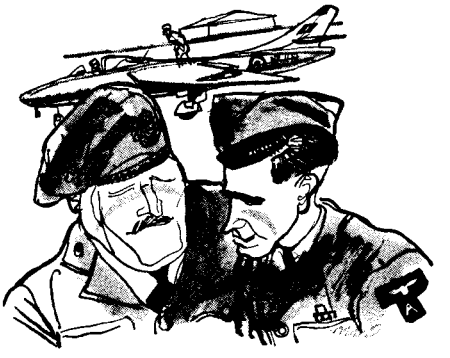
Geography and Time

How long will it take to build up Britain's thermonuclear weapons, long-range bombers, and missiles? No official answer has been given. Unofficially the period is put at a minimum of three or four years, and perhaps longer. It is a gradual process. Valiant bombers, with a performance slightly better than the American B-47, come into service this year and will carry British atomic bombs. The Vulcans, which can deliver hydrogen or lithium bombs, will not be ready in numbers before 1958 or 1959. The White Paper contents itself with a limited statement:

"Because of their extreme complexity and novelty, the time taken to put the newer types of weapons through all the various stages of research and development into production tends to be very much longer than in the past. It can be dangerous and misleading to ignore this fact. It is a mistake to assume, because it is announced that nuclear weapons, guided missiles, and supersonic aircraft, for example, are under development, that they are practically ready for use in operations. This applies to all other countries as well as to the United Kingdom."

The last sentence is the most important. The British plans assume that the Soviet Union has no long-range bombing force ready. It has jet bombers that could reach Britain, but none yet that could reach the United States in effective numbers. Not until 1959 is it thought that the Russians will have large numbers of jet bombers able to reach the United States and return home. And until they can reach the main American bases in Florida, Texas, and Arizona, the United States will have a great advantage—so great that the Russians would be unlikely to risk war. In the interval Britain has a certain amount of time to build up its own strategic air power.

Geography is heavily on the side of the United States and against Russia. Moscow is only 1,500 miles from East Anglia, Kiev 1,600 miles from Algiers, and Rostov less than 1,000 miles from Cyprus. Omsk, in the heart of central Russia, is 2,800 miles from East Anglia, 2,400 miles from Cyprus, and 3,200 miles from Okinawa. Dallas, deep in the United States, is 5,700 miles from Warsaw, 5,100 miles from Murmansk, and 4,100 miles from Anadyr, a remote and icy place near the Bering Strait. From the polar regions, where air



refueling of Russian aircraft might eventually be possible, New York City is 3,500 miles, Chicago 3,400 miles, and Dallas 4,000 miles. The prototype of a heavy bomber with swept wings was seen over Moscow last May Day, but if it first flew in

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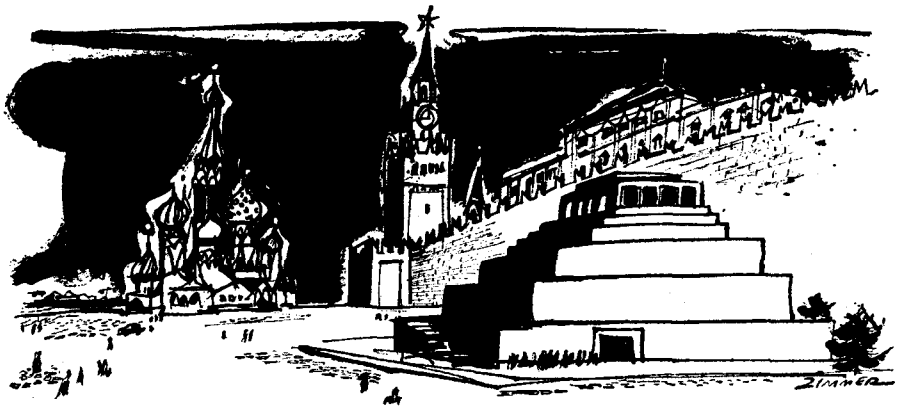
1954, production in quantity is unlikely before 1957 or 1958. From its size it seems likely to carry fuel for some twelve hours' flying, which at six hundred miles per hour would give it a maximum radius of 3,600 miles. This means that even with refueling in flight near the Pole, it could barely reach New York or Chicago, and could reach Texas and Arizona only on a one-way mission. Until the Russians have a large number of these aircraft, war strategy based on one-way missions would be a wild gamble.

Clearly, however, the continental defense of North America against such one-way raids is as important to Britain as it is to the United States. If we are to have time to build up our strategic air power, it is vital that the United States and the main bases of its bomber force should remain invulnerable in the interval. Even if the British and American estimates differ on the current strength of Soviet air units, the importance of American continental defense is in no way disputed. It is vital to the whole alliance.

AFTER 1960, what? Britain will have its bombs and bombers, with bases dispersed but individually vulnerable. The Soviet Union will be in the same position. So will the United States, except that its main bases will be rather less vulnerable. By then we shall have reached the "saturation" stage of which Sir Winston spoke. Each side will be able to inflict crushing or almost mortal injury on the other. In every country guided missiles will be increasingly important, although it seems improbable that any country will by then have developed an effective intercontinental missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead. That, at any rate, is the British expectation.

Unless universal disarmament has been accepted—something to be sought strenuously but not counted on—the advantage after 1960 will go to the country with the best scientific resources. Each side will be straining after new devices and counterdevices. More and more, it seems to interested people in Britain, we shall come to regret the lack of complete partnership in research between Britain and the United States.



What the Russians Are Told

LEO GRULIOW

FOR THOSE made uncomfortable by newspaper accounts of the lethal possibilities of atomic and hydrogen weapons—as who is not?—the Soviet Union offers a kind of fool's paradise. From the very beginning, Soviet publications have kept their readers for long periods in a state of selective ignorance on developments in the field of atomic physics. Indeed, Soviet citizens only got confirmation of the fact that their own government had managed to stage an atomic explosion in 1949 through a curious Tass dispatch beginning, "On September 23 President Truman announced that . . ."

The one time that Soviet newspapers gave their readers a factual and prompt report of an atomic story was when the censors were caught off guard by the news of the first bomb. Even then they managed to play it down.

The four-page Soviet dailies generally confine foreign news to the back page. The display of major stories on this page is similar in all papers. On Tuesday, August 7, 1945, the foreign-news page in Moscow papers led off with a spread half the page wide and two-thirds of the page deep. The headline was: POLISH REPUBLIC AWARDS HIGHEST HONORS TO MARSHALS OF THE SOVIET UNION G. K. ZHUKOV AND K. K. ROKOSSOVSKY. Buried below this big display was a 386-word Tass story from Washington. In all papers it stood near the bottom of the page: TRUMAN STATEMENT ON NEW ATOMIC BOMB.

The story was a brief account of the White House announcement of the Hiroshima bombing. It contained the information that the bomb was equivalent to twenty thousand tons of TNT, two thousand times the power of the largest bomb previously known.

But there was no description of the bomb's effects or the mushroom cloud or how the atomic explosion differed from any other explosion, or anything else, essentially, except that this was a pretty big bomb.

Nor was there anything more on the subject the next day. *Pravda*, which skipped Tuesday publication during the war (other papers skipped Mondays), carried the identical 386-word Tass story a day late, in the same inconspicuous position.

THE DAY following, August 9, Nagasaki was bombed. The event went unmentioned in the Soviet papers. For on that day Russia hurried into the war against Japan. Routine Allied communiqués on the war in the Pacific did appear, but nothing on Nagasaki. In later years *Red Star*, the army newspaper,

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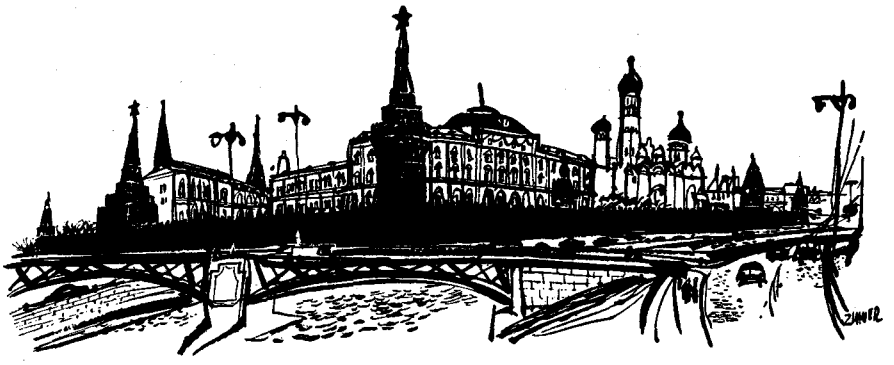


was to declare that the atomic strikes at Hiroshima and Nagasaki "had no military value, but pursued purely political objectives."

Downplaying the Atom

Such minimizing of the atomic bomb became the standing rule in the Soviet press; the line was that Soviet forces had won the war against Japan. Soviet propaganda soon began to denounce "atomic threats" and the inhuman effects of atomic bombing, but was careful to couple this with the suggestion that the threats were hollow and the bomb's consequences exaggerated. The Soviet press quoted irresponsible Congressmen who wanted to disintegrate Communism with a single bomb, and described hysterical Americans diving under desks at the siren's wail. At the same time the Soviet papers buried the news of the extent of damage to Hiroshima and Nagasaki and played down all other information on what the bomb could do and how it did it.

The first Bikini tests in July, 1946, were reported briefly as causing "insignificant damage" and as "disillusioning" a hopped-up American public. The second tests—the underwater ones—were dismissed in two hundred words, with the consoling conclusion: "The explosion had only a localized effect," which was true but hardly the whole truth. Articles in the Soviet press in the same period pointed to the terrible destruction wreaked on Stalingrad by the Germans in 1942.

Thus far this might have seemed merely sober treatment of potentially sensational information. But the subsequent handling of news of the atom suggests that this was not sobriety so much as fear of the impact that the full story might have had upon the public.

THE NEXT development was surely one of the most curious reassurances on record. On October 22, 1947, *Pravda* printed a Zhdanov speech to the Cominform session in Poland, containing references to the "American atomic monopoly." Two weeks later Molotov, delivering the traditional speech on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, denied that the monopoly existed. He did not say that Russia possessed an atomic bomb. He did not say it could build one. He simply said that "The secret of the bomb has long ceased to exist."

Two years later, when the Russians actually had exploded a bomb, Tass recalled Molotov's equivocal statement of 1947 and interpreted it retroactively: "This statement meant that the Soviet Union had already discovered the secret of the atomic weapon at that time and possessed this weapon then." But Molotov had been careful not to say so in 1947. He spoke only of the "secret."

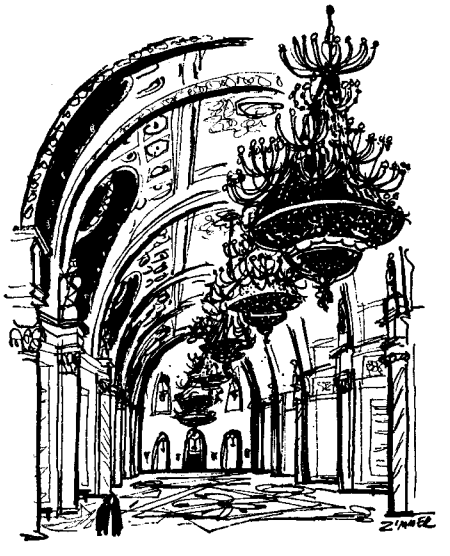
Mutterings from *Pravda*

How the Kremlin sought the secrets of the bomb will never be known to readers dependent upon the Soviet press. It suppressed news of the Igor Gouzenko revelations and the Alan Nunn May case. Its only mention of Dr. Klaus Emil Fuchs was in a sixty-three-word Tass denial of the British charge that Fuchs had given atomic secrets to Soviet agents: "Fuchs is unknown to the Soviet government and no 'agent' of the Soviet government had any contact with him." It reported the Rosenberg case as an instance of working-class martyrdom but did not discuss the nature of the accusation against the Rosenbergs; they were simply "framed."

At the end of November, 1950, President Truman made his famous rash declaration of readiness to use the atom bomb in Korea if necessary, and the record of Soviet reporting of the atom became even more curious. To understand what happened, it is necessary to realize the special position occupied by *Pravda* among Soviet newspapers. Alone among them, *Pravda* can disregard the normal channels of control. As the organ of the Communist Party Central Committee, *Pravda* has its own Kremlin pipeline, as good as or better than the censor's. It sometimes uses its authority by engaging in strange mutterings when other papers are completely silent.

For example, the Soviet press did not report the recent British decision to build atomic power plants. But two days later Britain proclaimed its intention to produce hydrogen bombs. Blazing away at the H-bomb decision, *Pravda* was the only Moscow paper to take the daring step of hinting that there might also have been some news concerning the peaceful use of atomic energy. It quoted separate phrases from a sentence out of the London *Daily Sketch* and, on the basis of these phrases taken out of context, declared that the H-bomb decision "refuted British ruling circles' boastful claims of an intention to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes." Readers were left to wonder what the boastful claims might have been.

Something similar happened in 1950, when President Truman made his remark about resorting to the atom bomb in Korea. For two days the Soviet press was silent. On



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the third day *Pravda* alone carried a statement about the President's press conference. It was not a report but an editorial denunciation, printed without dateline. It was headlined: TRUMAN'S DECLARATION AT A PRESS CONFERENCE—NEW WAR HYSTERIA. It appeared on the front page, an extraordinary postion for foreign news. In 218 angry words *Pravda* declared that the President had rejected peace in Korea and had pledged "to pursue his imperialist schemes in Korea and in regard to China." No mention of the atomic bomb.

For several days thereafter all Soviet papers blossomed forth with editorials denouncing "Truman's threats"—but they did not mention the words "atomic bomb" or in any other way explain what the threats were.

The papers roundly abused the President; obviously their delicate silence about the nature of his threat was not intended to spare his person. The closest any Soviet newspaper came to disclosing what Mr. Truman had said was an *Izvestia* editorial declaring that he was "hurling thunder and lightning [a common Russian idiom for threats] at the Korean and Chinese peoples."

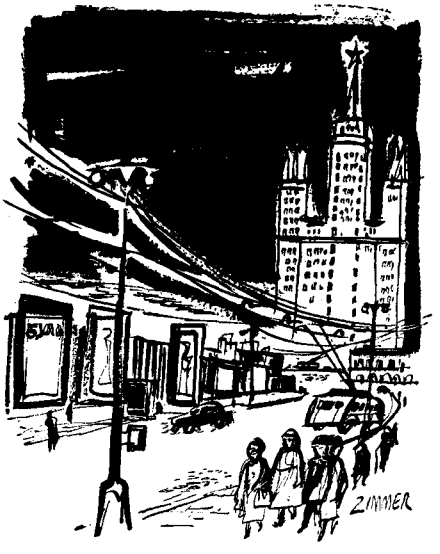
Pravda's Q.; Stalin's A.

On October 3, 1951, President Truman announced that Russia had exploded a second atomic bomb. Again it was only via the White House announcement that Russians learned of their own latest atomic development. The White House report was not printed in Russian papers. But three days later *Pravda* published prominently on its front page a Q.-and-A. interview with Stalin, reprinted in all other Soviet papers the next day. It began:

"Q.—What do you think of the clamor to which the foreign press gave vent the other day in connection with the testing of an atom bomb in the Soviet Union?" (Soviet readers might well have asked, What clamor? What bomb? They had been told nothing about it.)

"A.—It is true that we recently tested one type of atomic bomb . . ."

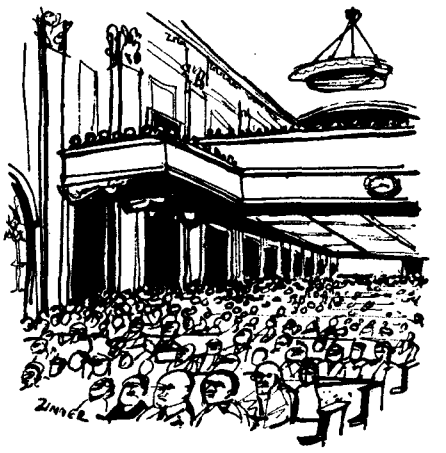
The only hint the Soviet public received then that America might have a tactical atomic weapon was contained in a brief passage in an editorial commentary on foreign reactions to Stalin's interview. This commentary, columns long, stated in passing: "In the campaign undertaken for intimidation in response to Comrade Stalin's statement, Washington concentrated on a previously pigeonholed declaration made by Gordon Dean, Chairman of the [Joint Congressional] Committee on Atomic Energy, before a Congressional appropriations committee September 21. Dean boasted to the committee that the United States possesses, if you please, various kinds of atomic bombs and, in particular, a 'tactical' atomic weapon. Such threats, boasts, and atomic blackmail do not sound too convincing, even to those who share Gordon Dean's views."



Peekaboo with the H-Bomb

In December, 1951, the AEC announced the production of electric power from nuclear energy. This went unreported in Soviet newspapers. The list of further developments that the Soviet press withheld from its public is a long one: the explosion of Britain's first bomb in October, 1952; the descriptions of the Eniwetok test in November, 1952, and the AEC announcement of experiments in thermonuclear-weapon research; the launching of the first atomic-powered submarine *Nautilus* in January, 1954; and the fact that hydrogen-bomb tests were made in the Marshalls in March, 1954.

That America was working on something called a "hydrogen bomb" became known to Soviet readers



from the sneers of newspaper commentators at "vain hopes placed by aggressive U.S. circles in a hydrogen bomb, now that the atomic monopoly has been lost." That the H-bomb was "many times" superior became known to them only when their government announced its own.

On August 9, 1953, Malenkov told the Supreme Soviet that "The United States has no monopoly on production of the hydrogen bomb." This time the U.S. authorities confirmed the fact afterward. But only following our August 12 confirmation did the Soviet government disclose, on August 20, that it had indeed tested a hydrogen bomb.

How powerful was a hydrogen bomb? A force equivalent to five hundred thousand tons of TNT had been mentioned unofficially in American papers by this time. But if you were a Soviet newspaper reader, you knew only that it was "many times greater" than the power of an atomic bomb. Let's see, now—the atomic bomb had been equivalent (if your memory stretched that far; the Soviet press had not indulged in repetition of the figure after the fateful day in August, 1945) to twenty thousand tons of TNT. But that had been in 1945. How big *was* an H-bomb?

The Shifting Line

President Eisenhower tried to explain how big. In his speech proposing the atoms-for-peace stockpile plan in December, 1953, he said that "Every citizen of the world should have some comprehension, at least in comparative terms, of the extent of this development." The So-

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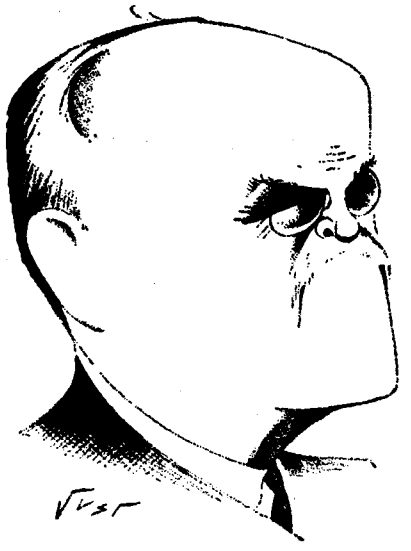


Molotov

viet translator changed the phrase "extent of this development" to "nature of this development." The President spoke of "hydrogen bombs in the range of millions of tons of TNT equivalent." The Soviet censor deleted this. The President urged: "It is not enough just to take this weapon out of the hands of the soldiers. It must be put into the hands of those who will know how to strip its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace." The Soviet censor also struck out this passage.

Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen personally communicated the President's words to Molotov and twelve days later the Soviet press printed a slightly fuller version—still omitting these important parts. One striking line was left in: the President's remark that to confine our efforts to defense against an aggressor would mean "to accept helplessly the probability of civilization destroyed."

Such expressions of concern had previously been ridiculed in the Soviet press or described as part of "the American paper horror mill" intended to frighten the world. This time Premier Malenkov himself echoed Mr. Eisenhower. In March, 1954, Malenkov's "election-campaign" speech contained the first and only Soviet suggestion of such concern: "The Soviet government . . . is resolutely opposed to the policy of cold war, for this is a policy of preparing a fresh world carnage, which, with modern methods of warfare, means the ruin of world civilization."

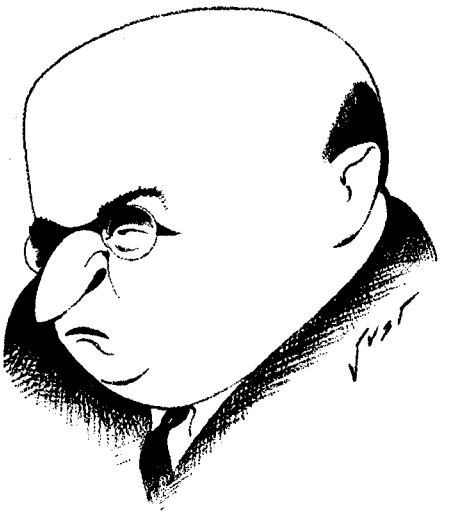
In the face of the previous underemphasis on the bomb's destructiveness, Malenkov's use of this phrase was surprising. It was followed by some frank talk about the atom in *Red Star*. American observers picked up these two facts and began to hail them as marking a change. Soviet leaders seemed to agree with western leaders that in an atomic war there would be no victors, only losers.

Any such interpretation was premature. Hardly a month later, Malenkov, addressing the Supreme Soviet, reverted to the old line: "If the aggressive circles, relying on atomic weapons, should decide on madness and should seek to test the strength and might of the Soviet Union, then there can be no doubt that the aggressor will be crushed by those same weapons and that such an adventure will inevitably lead to the downfall of the capitalist system. (*Thunderous, prolonged applause.*)" No longer would civilization fall; capitalism would.

The Confidential Service

In all this it would be wrong to assume that the military and a large stratum of officialdom close to the policymaking level are kept ignorant of the facts. Many officials of the Foreign Ministry, the army, and other agencies have access to foreign newspapers. More important, Tass bureaus file millions of words monthly from New York, London, and other world capitals. Only a fraction of this—perhaps twenty thousand words a day—is released to the press,

Bohlen and Malenkov



Beria

and of this only about five thousand words are printed in the four-page dailies. The remainder is labeled SECRET, mimeographed, and distributed to a select list of top party and government executives, editors, and other functionaries who must have facts that are kept from the general public.

Nearly all this confidential service consists of extensive quotation from the world's news agencies and newspapers and other sources freely available to the public outside the Soviet bloc. Yet these reports are treated as if they contained state secrets—as indeed they do, so far as the public in Russia is concerned.

In addition, a distinction is made between what may appear in the general press, issued for the public at large, and what may be printed in specialized publications of more or less limited circulation, such as the Defense Ministry daily, *Red Star*. During the war, *Red Star* was one of the most widely distributed Soviet newspapers, but after the war its circulation was narrowed.

LAST SPRING and summer *Red Star* printed the first detailed and explicit Soviet newspaper articles on nuclear energy. The articles, appearing in a series stretching over several months, were written by various authorities. Professor G. Pokrovsky began with a disclosure that the atomic-bomb explosion might be compared with the volcanic eruption of Krakatao in 1883, the biggest recorded natural explosion, or with

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the fall of the Stony Tunguska meteorite in Siberia in 1908. This was strong language for a Soviet newspaper, even *Red Star,* with its relatively well-informed military audience. A number of articles followed, describing in popular and elementary terms how atomic energy can be harnessed.

Then three lengthy pieces dealt with the bomb itself. These articles, by Professor B. Olisov, Doctor of Technical Sciences, Stalin Prize winner, and Major General of the Engineering and Technical Corps, described what happens when an atomic bomb explodes.

The information was the kind with which the American public had been inundated back in 1945. Even the figure used was the outdated 1945 figure of twenty thousand tons of TNT. The author did add that hydrogen bombs were equivalent to millions of tons of TNT. But he promptly dropped the question of hydrogen bombs and went on to describe the effects of simple A-bombs, using Hiroshima data. Here at last were the mushroom cloud, the blinding flash, the dangers of radiation, and an explanation of chain reaction.

Throughout, the author emphasized that atomic bombing need not deter an army. After describing elementary rules concerning protective cover (such as slit trenches) and avoidance of contamination, he concluded: "The questions considered here constitute only part of the measures which come within the sphere of atomic protection of troops. But even they permit the conclusion that troops well prepared for defense can successfully carry out their combat tasks [even after atomic attack]."

Nothing further was said of H-bombs and nothing about damage to industry and to civilian life.

It Kills Only 'Imperialists'

The Soviet press devotes almost no space to civil defense, and the one magazine that is devoted exclusively to those problems isn't exported very often. Anything that does get through is even less informative than the *Red Star* series.

Though not echoed in nonmilitary papers, the *Red Star* series seems to hint a turn from the old

Gromyko

line of minimizing the importance and danger of the bombs to a new policy of implying that Russia can defend itself against their effects. A Tass announcement on September 17, 1954, said that "A new type of atomic weapon was tested recently. . . . In the course of the test valuable results were obtained which will help Soviet scientists and engineers to solve successfully the problems of defense against atomic attack."

Successive "peace-campaign" declarations talked of the horrors of atomic warfare in general terms, but specific facts and statistics were still commonly withheld. These "peace appeals" did leak a few additional bits of belated information to the Soviet public, however. By mid-January of this year the Russian reader was deemed ready to face the fact that thermonuclear bombs exist "thousands of times" more powerful than the Hiroshima atomic bomb. This fact appeared in a propaganda declaration by Frédéric Joliot-Curie in opposition to the North Atlantic alliance.

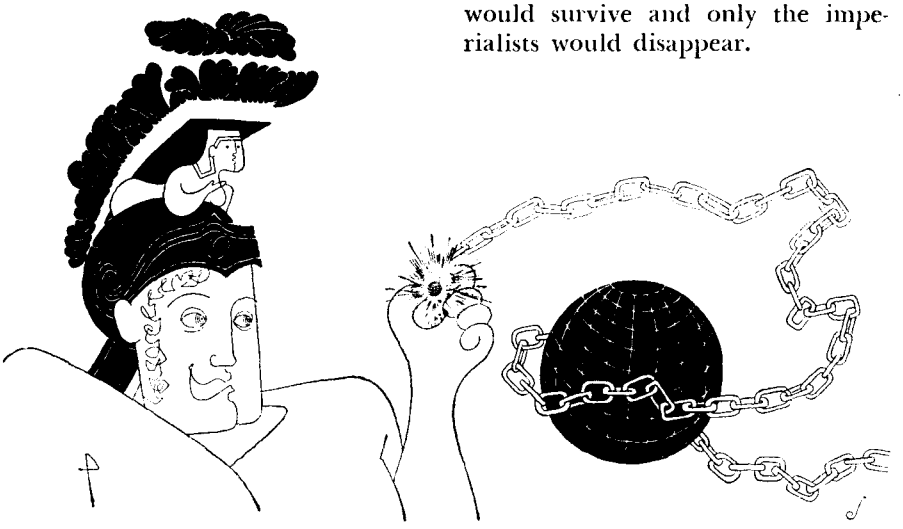
The declaration was clearly aimed primarily at a better-informed world audience outside Russia, though it was reprinted in the Russian press, for twice it referred to "the possible annihilation of the human race."

Lest there be any doubt in Soviet minds, however, Molotov repeated the official formula at the February Supreme Soviet session, following Malenkov's resignation: "It is not 'world civilization' which will fall, however much it may suffer from new aggression, but that already rotted social system, with its blood-soaked imperialist foundations, which . . ." etc.

This was the speech in which Molotov declared that Soviet achievements in thermonuclear weapons have been so great that "Not the Soviet Union but the United States has turned out to be lagging."

And when the AEC announced recently that deadly radioactive fallout had covered seven thousand square miles during a hydrogen-bomb test in the Pacific last year, American papers jumped on the news and complained editorially about the delay in informing the public—but Soviet papers suppressed the story entirely.

The faithful reader of the Soviet press thus has the comforting impression not only that his country is away ahead of everybody else in the development of these big bombs, whatever they are, but also that even if there should be a war in which both sides used them, he would survive and only the imperialists would disappear.



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Partnership in Power And the Public Interest

REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS ELLSWORTH

IN AN ATTACK on the Eisenhower Administration's partnership policy which appeared in *The Reporter* of February 24, Senator Richard Neuberger of my home state, Oregon, closed with the sentence: "The public good must come first."

I agree.

But what is the public good?

For power development in the Pacific Northwest, the public good is to get the job done—so that the people and industries of that rapidly growing area will have the electrical energy they need when and on the scale they must have it and at a cost they regard as fair. The Pacific Northwest has only one-tenth of the land area of the United States and only one-thirtieth of its total population, but it possesses forty per cent of the nation's hydroelectric power potential—and only one-seventh of this has been developed so far. The potential of the Columbia River system alone is about 34 million kilowatts, of which more than two-thirds remains to be developed.

Even though much has already been accomplished, all agree that the abundant remaining water resources of this region must be harnessed to human use. The remaining question is how we are going to do it.

Action vs. No Action

For twenty years the Federal government has been in the field of power development on a large scale, and there are those, Senator Neuberger among them, who claim that only the Federal government can do this enormous job. But what is the record?

History demonstrates that exclusive reliance on the Federal government for the development of power resources has too often meant no development at all. The government just does not have the tax money to develop all the projects that have been proposed for all the rivers of our land and do the other things it must. In a number of instances Congress has been unable in good conscience to authorize or to appropriate money for new power development around the country. As a consequence, the result in particular regions has frequently been no action at all.

The problems inherent in exclusive development by the Federal government are emphasized by the fact that the projected power needs for the Pacific Northwest during the next ten years will require an investment in the Columbia River Basin area alone of roughly $2 billion. Even though the Northwest has received a most generous share of total appropriations for public works, it would require new funds out of all proportion to past appropriations to meet the future power-development needs of the Pacific Northwest area alone. We in the Northwest cannot be so foolish as to sit back and make plans for the future in the hope that Federal appropriations will be forthcoming on such a lopsided scale.

Thus we are presented with a clear choice between a serious slackening of industrial development or the rapid evolution of a dynamic new program realistically designed to meet projected power needs.

Faced with the stark reality of this situation, the men in the Pacific Northwest began to explore the possibilities of local interests co-operating with the Federal government in financing multiple purpose projects. This was the germ of the partnership idea.

The Partnership Policy

In August, 1953, the Eisenhower Administration formally set forth a new, constructive, forward-looking policy of partnership in power development. This policy was designed to promote the fullest possible local participation in power development. Only by bringing every possible resource to bear, private and governmental, can we expect to accomplish the job that has to be done. The policy is also advocated by the President because, as he has said, partnership will permit the American people in their communities and homes throughout the nation to "reserve to themselves as many of the basic decisions as possible. In this way, our people will remain free to carve out their destinies as their predecessors did."

The partnership idea of power development means people working together. It means that local interests will be encouraged by the Federal government to go ahead with

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necessary power projects on their own. It means further that the Federal government will continue to sponsor those projects which because of their scope and cost cannot be undertaken locally. It means also that in certain instances, where feasible, the government will share the cost of a project with local interests.

In other words, the Eisenhower policy means that no method of supplying the power needs of the nation will be arbitrarily eliminated; it means that all sources of financing will be utilized—private, state, and Federal—to meet this enormous challenge. It means, finally, that we shall not have to rely solely on the Federal government, which, as history demonstrates, is too often without tax money for allocation to this purpose.

When President Eisenhower dedicated McNary Dam in the Pacific Northwest last fall, he said: "Where local enterprise can shoulder the burden, it will be encouraged and supported in doing so. But where local action cannot or should not fully meet the need, we shall have Federal action." We can therefore be assured that the Federal government will continue its active participation in the development of our water resources.

There is a complete determination on the part of the Eisenhower Administration to boost power development in accordance with the nation's requirements. By encouraging the maximum possible local co-operation and partnership with the Federal government, the vast amount of work that remains to be done will be most rapidly accomplished.

Altering Cougar Dam

To illustrate concretely how this policy is working, Congress some time ago authorized the construction in the district I represent of the Cougar Dam for flood control. By altering the design of the dam slightly and increasing its height, it was found that 37,000 kilowatts of power could be produced in addition to the millions of dollars that would be saved in flood damage to farmlands and buildings in the area. Congress accordingly modified the authorization to include construction of these power features at an additional cost of $11 million. The Eugene Water and Electric Board, a publicly

owned electric utility system operated by the City of Eugene, Oregon, finding itself in need of additional generating capacity, offered to construct the power part of the Cougar project and thus obtain the power it needs for the people it serves.

Under the partnership legislation introduced last year, the City of Eugene proposes to pay the entire $11-million cost of the power facilities, and in addition to contribute $500,000 toward constructing the flood-control part of the dam. Further, it would pay fifteen per cent of the cost of operating the flood-control portion of the project throughout the fifty-year life of its license with the Federal Power Commission. That payment will total another million dollars.

The Water Board believes this to be a good proposition because its system will acquire an additional 37,000 kilowatts of power which it needs. The cost of construction per kilowatt will be about on a par with its other capital investment for such facilities, and the type of power generated can be integrated into the rest of its system.

This partnership project will also be of distinct advantage to the Federal government. The people will get the flood control and power they need but the cost of installing and maintaining the power facilities will not be an unnecessary burden upon the Federal taxpayer.

All partnership proposals have the same purpose—to get additional power as quickly as possible, and at the least possible expense to the Federal government.

AND HOW is the Eisenhower Administration's partnership policy working out? Is it getting the job done? Results to date have been eminently rewarding. They indicate conclusively that industry and local government are more than willing to assume their share of the responsibility. Since the Administration's announcement of its partnership program, the kilowatt capacity represented by applications made to the Federal Power Commission has increased by fifty per cent.

The President in his Economic Report to the Congress this year said: ". . . during the last two years applications to the Federal Power Commission for permits to survey potential hydroelectric developments represented a larger total of kilowatts than was covered by the applications during the prior seven years." He went on to say: "At the end of last year the volume of such permits outstanding was by far the greatest in the history of the Commission. The workings of the partnership policy are also illustrated by six multipurpose projects for which provision has already been made or is contemplated in the coming fiscal year. It is estimated that these projects will result in a Federal expenditure of about $200 million, while an additional $800 million may be expended by local interests, private or public."

Fourteen Federal Power Commission license applications by local interests plus another project to be built on a partnership basis would mean an additional four million kilowatts for the Pacific Northwest.

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This would be the equivalent of two Grand Coulee Dams, and would mean an investment approaching $2 billion not supplied unnecessarily by Federal taxpayers but by private savings.

Illustrative of savings produced by the partnership approach are four projects which would have cost the taxpayer $575 million if authorization for their construction by the Federal government had not been withdrawn. Private and local government development of these projects will not only relieve the United States taxpayer of the burden of their initial cost, but as to those projects constructed by private industry, it will mean additional tax revenue and thus a corresponding lightening of the citizen's tax burden. These economies are another example of the broad benefits that result from the application of the Eisenhower partnership policy.

One of the four projects is the Alabama-Coosa River project, authorized for Federal construction in 1945 under legislation sponsored by Senators John Sparkman and Lister Hill of Alabama. During the next nine years, however, no funds for the project were appropriated by Congress. Last year Senators Sparkman and Hill supported new legislation which took the Federal government out of the picture. The Federal Power Commission has already granted a preliminary permit to the Alabama Power Company to build a 239,500-kilowatt project. The Federal project would have developed only 200,000 kilowatts and would have cost the Federal government $114 million which it was apparently unable to make available.

Revival of Initiative

One of the most heartening developments that the President's partnership policy has produced is a noticeable improvement in attitude. No longer are our local people, whether in private or public activities, waiting for the Federal government to take care of their needs and spoon out power to them.

Renewed vigor and initiative are now abroad in the land. Local groups interested in power are exhibiting a new independence, a willingness to provide for themselves. They see now that only in this way can they get what they need, when they need it, and on their own terms. Eloquent testimony to this fact can be found in the recent action of the Oregon Legislature memoralizing Congress to approve three partnership projects.

Another important point that must not be overlooked is that the savings made possible by the partnership power policy will make money available for other pressing responsibilities of the Federal government for which there are no alternative sources of funds.

In his article Senator Neuberger made the rather startling observation that partnership over the years will deny to the Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars. Apparently he assumes that once the cost of a project has been paid the government will maintain rates at the same levels and thus produce a profit for the Treasury.

Nowhere in any Act of Congress, however, is there any general authorization for the Federal government to go into or conduct a power business as such. The Bonneville Power Administration in the Department of the Interior, for example, operates the great Bonneville system into which power from all Northwest projects is fed. It sells the power at wholesale to publicly and privately owned distributing systems. The Bonneville Act of 1937 spells out how the rates shall be made: "Rate schedules shall be drawn having regard to the recovery of the cost of producing and transmitting such electric energy, including the amortization of the capital investment over a reasonable period of years."

There is no provision in that law for the government to make a profit for the Treasury from the Bonneville system. After the people who use the power have paid for the system, they may and probably will enjoy a reduction in rates when the amortization charge ends. The Treasury gets its money back with interest. That is all. Thus, unless Senator Neuberger proposes that the power business be socialized and turned into a profit-making enterprise for the Federal government, his assumption that the partnership program will "deny the Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars" is palpably false.

The Senator also makes the strange argument that the Federal government under the partnership plan will be "saddled with the apparatus that returns no cash dividends—locks and fish ladders." He neglects to mention that his "apparatus" has long been considered a Federal obligation and that even the TVA specifically excludes these costs in determining its power rates. Does the Senator want only the people of Oregon and the other Northwestern states to pay for flood control and navigation in their electric bills? His comparison to the department store with its revolving doors and sales counters is cute but misleading.

Remember also that where power is developed by private companies the public interest is always fully protected. Private and local power projects must be licensed by the Federal Power Commission, and before the Commission grants a license it must see evidence that the project makes maximum use of the developed resources. And, as President Eisenhower has made clear, when a project is licensed it is not removed from public control. Rates and services remain under regulation, state and Federal. Moreover, as Senator Neuberger has failed to mention despite his burning interest in adding to Federal revenues, every privately operated electrical utility, like any other corporation, pays a corporate income tax of fifty-two per cent if it earns a net income. In the year 1953 the Federal treasury collected $875 million in income taxes paid by electrical utilities.

Stevenson, Sparkman, and Hill

But let us get back to the fundamental issue that is involved here:

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the problem of meeting the enormous and increasing power needs of our growing nation.

The real question is whether we are going to use every available resource, private, state, and Federal, to get a job done that has to be done, or are we going to flounder around, moving at reduced speed, because some dogmatically insist, with Senator Neuberger, that water resources should remain undeveloped unless the Federal government does it alone?

The answer, it seems to me, is clear. It is also clear to many others, I submit, regardless of party lines. For example, two leading Democrats, Senators Sparkman and Hill of Alabama, have recognized that Federal spending alone is not the answer. And in Portland, Oregon, in May of 1952, Adlai Stevenson, later leader of the Democratic Party and its chief spokesman, said, "Where private enterprise can and is willing to do the job, I think it should be left free to do so. It seems to me that government enterprise should be primarily addressed to the maintenance and enforcement of competition in our economic life, not its destruction."

Senator Neuberger, on the other hand, prefers to take his stand with the past and with former Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who in 1941 predicted that the Pacific Northwest would "in due course be a public power domain."

ON THE STRENGTH of these facts, I am compelled to conclude that Senator Neuberger is out of step with the new needs and conditions of our times and with the leadership and other important members of his own party. The evidence equally compels me to suggest that Senator Neuberger, liberal though he may claim to be, is certainly, on this issue at least, a reactionary.

The President In Your Living Room

DOUGLASS CATER

AT THE SECOND of the President's televised news conferences, William Shannon of the New York *Post* cited what he thought was a clear abuse of freedom of the press. Wasn't it a form of censorship, he asked the President, for the White House rather than the networks to decide what portions of the film would be released? Mr. Eisenhower, slightly miffed, had a ready reply: He couldn't very well answer any protests from the heads of the broadcasting companies until he had received them. Later, a White House correspondent for one of the major networks made it plain that there wouldn't be any protests. "Hell," he said, "they're giving us more film now than we know what to do with."

In point of fact, the television people, having at last gotten their cameras inside the President's press conference, have been somewhat niggardly in sharing the results with their viewers. Since the première performance on January 20, when the four networks each had a special showing of the twenty-eight minutes of film that had been released, CBS and NBC have been content to use only brief excerpts on their regular sponsored news programs, with NBC picking up a bit more the next morning on its show "Today." The smaller networks, either more public-service-minded or less burdened with sponsored programs, have done better by the President. DuMont uses as much film as it can squeeze into a half-hour slot the evening after the press conference, while ABC runs it both that evening and again the following Sunday. Of course on Sunday the show must compete with CBS's Ed Sullivan and NBC's "Comedy Hour," hardly a fair proposition even for a President. The radio networks, also relatively unburdened, have been generous in broadcasting tape recordings of the conference.

Contrary to Mr. Shannon's fears, the President's Press Secretary, James C. Hagerty, has been very cautious in making deletions. He has not hesitated to release "for direct quotation" responses which, in the opinion of reporters, did not show the President in a favorable light. The principle by which Hagerty works seems to require the elimination of only those exchanges which he considers repetitious or in which the President has in so many words declined to comment. There is, of course, a fine line to be drawn here between pure chaff and colloquies that would show Mr. Eisenhower to be not so well informed as he ought to be. But so far there have been no notable disputes over borderline cases. Indeed, the very fact that the portions deleted are likely to be emphasized by the commentators serves to make worry of this sort of censorship rather farfetched.

The Gloomy View

In the view of a few gloomy journalists, however, this latest innovation has been just one more step in the debasement of the conference as profitable opportunity for journalistic enterprise. The reporter, they argue, has sold his birthright for a mess of publicity.

Those who hold this view look back to the Roosevelt press conferences with nostalgia. Reporters crowded into the President's own office in those days, the laggards obliged to stand on tiptoe to peer over the shoulders of the early arrivals to get a glimpse of the President seated behind his desk. Despite the visual limitations, there was a spirit of informality and directness about the whole affair. The reporter shot his question at the President and received a quick retort, then hurried to get it down on the back of an envelope before the next round. There was no officially released transcript to point up the inadequacies of the reporter's notations. He reported the President's

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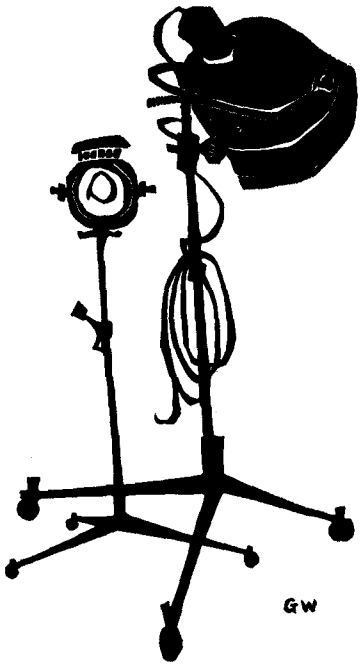


remarks in the third person; only once in a long while was permission given to use a direct quotation.

In that situation, some now claim, the job of the reporter was truly meaningful. He, and he alone, conveyed information about top governmental policy from the White House to the public. There were no short cuts except, of course, when the President took to the air waves to deliver one of his fireside chats.

All this began to change with Mr. Truman. In 1950, the conference itself was moved out of the President's office and across the street to the Treaty Room of the old State Department. The reporters remained seated except for a momentary courtesy rising at the President's entry. The President stood like a professor lecturing to a class of undergraduates. The reporter would bid for recognition and then introduce himself before putting his question. The tempo was entirely different.

About this time reporters got together to hire a stenographer to take shorthand notes and render a rough transcript of the conference for their guidance. But the transcript was not ready until late in the afternoon and was by no means authentic enough for reproduction in the newspapers. Sometime during the Truman Administration, a tape recorder was introduced and two uniformed technicians from the Army Signal Corps arrived to make a permanent record of each news conference.

SHORTLY AFTER Mr. Eisenhower's weekly press conferences began, there was another innovation. The obliging Hagerty permitted the reporters to bring in a stenotypist who could produce a nearly perfect transcript of the morning conference by early afternoon for sale at a nominal fee to anyone who wanted it. The New York *Times* promptly began printing the entire transcript. The old requirement that the President be recorded only in the third person lost a great deal of its meaning, since anybody could easily figure out exactly what he had said simply by changing "he" to "I" and making appropriate changes in syntax. The President could no longer ascribe malapropisms to faulty reporting—that convenient alibi which had led to the establishment of the third-person requirement in the first place. At the urging of radio correspondents who wanted to broadcast the tape recordings, the practice of releasing sections of the transcript from this cumbersome limitation began to expand.

Thus the entry of the TV and movie news cameras was not so revolutionary as it might seem. Its actual timing was determined in large part by the development of the remarkably fast Eastman Tri-X film, which eliminates the need for klieg lights. Hagerty had been more wary of the lights than of the cameras.

For the gloomy critics, this has been the final straw. For them, the loss of informality is a tragedy. Assuming that the reporter can get himself recognized, his question and the accompanying answer are formally transcribed, recorded, and filmed. Almost before he can file his own copy, both he and the President have been broadcast on the air waves and viewed on television screens all across the country. He has become an unpaid extra in a gigantic publicity show that may be of value to the President but certainly not to a working reporter. Indeed, there is every temptation for the journalist to become a ham actor, and a number have all too apparently succumbed.

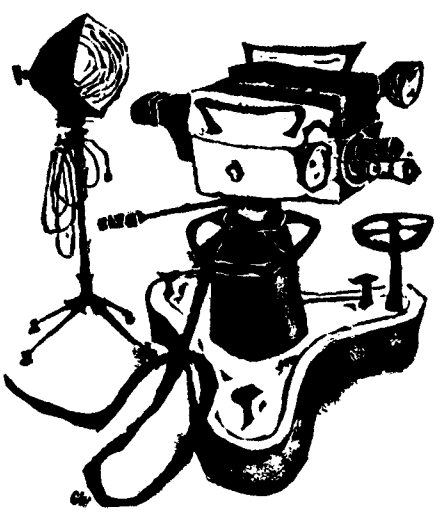
Democrats' Despair

There is a contrary view held among some reporters. They consider these changes not as robbing the reporter of his birthright but as increasing the efficiency of a highly important institution of government. The President's press conference, they argue, was not meant to be a special preserve for reporters hunting scoops. It is rather a convenient way for the head of the nation to communicate with the people. It permits the citizenry to get to the President those problems which deserve his special attention. The President, in turn, can use it to project his personality and the sense of his capacity to meet these problems.

What has happened, it is argued, has been just one more step in a continuing effort to make the conference effective by accommodating it to all forms of mass communication. By this standard, the camera has as much right in the room as the reporter himself.

The reporter's function is by no means undercut in the process. He still has the job of weighing and comparing, and of applying the scale of news value to what the President says. To him still belongs the awesome responsibility of rounding up the whole story—a responsibility he too often ducked when he served as the exclusive conduit of news. Now he is less a mere recorder and more a creative interpreter.

STILL ANOTHER assessment must be made of the new Presidential press conference. This is in terms of the President's role as a participant in the highly competitive struggle for leadership of the government. Whether he likes it or not, the President is engaged in a battle with both Congress and the Opposition party, a battle in which publicity



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has become the most potent weapon. For the Member of Congress, the investigating committee has proved to be an effective instrument of publicity, its processes ingeniously geared to grinding out daily headlines and projecting far and wide the images of its members. For the Opposition party, in turn, the capacity to stir up controversy also provides a day-to-day publicity advantage over the President, although the Democratic leaders would argue that Republican ownership of most papers pretty well cancels out the advantage for them.

To keep himself and his policies before the people, the President has to hustle, and televising the news conference has turned out to be a unique publicity bonanza for Mr. Eisenhower. Roosevelt's responses, according to most recollections, would have seemed a little too sharp and sometimes too "cute" for TV purposes. Mr. Truman was inclined to be snappish. But Mr. Eisenhower manages to be convincing even when he is saying almost nothing.

This peculiar ability has been noted by regulars at the news conference, who frequently experience a rude shock on later reading the transcript of what they had heard. What had seemed clear and meaningful proves to be vague and even irrelevant.

But now the reporter turns to his television set and gets still a third impression. Again the President comes through firm and strong, profiting by comparison with the reporters, who are not so well in focus and whose voices, farther from the microphones, sound weak and irresolute. Added to his verbal facility is the President's notable capacity for adopting an expression appropriate to his words. Humor, severity, deep-felt concern, and even a sense of destiny can all be seen in the changing expressions of his mobile face.

EVEN THE so-called "bad" conferences have looked pretty good on the TV screens. For the countless viewers who only glimpse a quick excerpt each week, the effect, if nothing more, is to provide a continuing awareness of a leader in the White House wrestling with the tremendous life-and-death problems of the world. It's enough to keep Democrats awake nights.

'DYNAMIC CONSERVATISM'

ERIC SEVAREID

PUNDITS and commentators don't live by catchwords alone, but the slogan tends, at times, to become the staff of life in this political center and people have to draw from it what nourishment they can, depending upon their individual metabolism. Gastro-intellectual disturbances arise, however, when these special diets are suddenly changed without advance preparation; now the latest exotic dish from the Presidential table is "dynamic conservatism."

Mr. Eisenhower threw this one out for grabs in addressing his party's assembled leaders. They, of course, are a hardy breed, and they downed this rare morsel without the bat of an eyelash or the knit of a brow. It has been a little harder for others among us; we had just got our systems accustomed to "progressive moderation" when the President coolly announced that he was changing his mind. He said that "at the moment" he rather favors "dynamic conservatism" to define his party's domestic policies. There was a threat implied in this statement. He may switch to still another definition at any time; there is nothing to do but hang on and wait, newspaper copy desks hoping to high heaven that the next definition will fit more easily into a one-column headline than the existing two.

That was one of the great things about Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal or Truman's Fair Deal. Nobody could prove just what *they* meant, either, but they were short; they were crisp; they fitted headlines nicely; and they bandied good in conversation. You could, if you wished, transpose them into verb forms, like "Deal Square" or "Deal Fair," though it sounded pretty silly. You can transpose Ike's slogans too, but you can't work up any active verb sense out of them. In fact, nothing happens to them at all. What is the difference between "progressive moderation" and "moderate progressivism" or between "dynamic conservatism" and "conservative dynamism?" Either way, they just sort of sit there and don't go anyplace. The fact that they sit there, fixed, imperturbable, does, however, give you a chance to work around them, squint at them through one eye at a time and measure them like a fish that *didn't* get away. I don't mean like a dead mackerel that both shines and stinks in the moonlight, but like a dead tuna, say, that is neatly mounted, its mouth closed in a satisfied expression, the whole thing covered with a careful coat of shellac.

A SLOGAN defining Administration policy is a pretty serious thing, and you can't let just any old slogan in the official house. You'll notice the Administation is taking its time about replacing "massive retaliation" and "unleashment" for its foreign policy and has turned down various gratuitous offers from the Press Club Bar, like "spiritual values and no ground troops" or "a warm chuckle and air power." Of course they still have "peaceful coexistence" around but it didn t seem very impressive when they first fished it out, so it has been tossed back in to see if it will grow a little.

On domestic policy, though, the President seems to be striking out pretty boldly, like a fellow who will not only try anything once but twice. And we'll just have to see how the country responds to "dynamic conservatism." I'm not going to go so far as to say the two words add up to a revolving *non sequitur*, though they do seem to sort of turn around and butt each other; it may be more accurate to say this slogan contains the built-in retraction or escape clause. It's a little bit like "make haste slowly," or Damon Runyon's "medium hello," or the old vaudeville gag "If we had some eggs, we could have some ham and eggs, if we had some ham."

Classicists, no doubt, will be reminded of the Red Queen, I guess it was, who said something about running faster to stay in the same place.

But I'm afraid the thing defeats me, due to my lack of learning. I quit school at the point where we worked with definitions that defined something. Never did get up in the higher echelons where they worked with definitions defining definitions.

(From a broadcast over CBS Radio)

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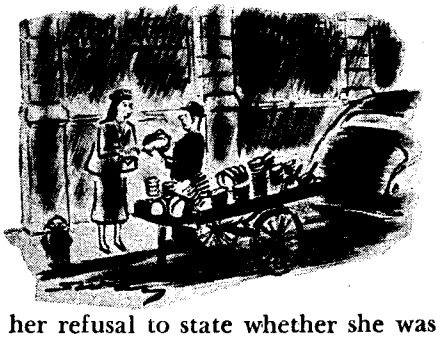
Should Communists Be Allowed to Eat?



PAUL JACOBS

BIT BY BIT, piece by piece, sometimes by conscious intent but often not, the image of the Communist in the United States is being more sharply delineated for other Americans. The legal image—the Communist and his rights as seen through the eyes of the law—is almost complete. On January 18, by a 4-3 decision, the California State Supreme Court gave sanction to the discharge from employment, *any employment,* of any Communist, simply for being a Communist.

The decision is S.F. 18522, *Walker* v. *Cutter Laboratories.* If and when it reaches the United States Supreme Court, it may very well become one of the most famous legal decisions in recent history. For according to its terms, all areas of employment and all jobs are "sensitive," and hence a Communist has neither a right to be hired nor the right not to be fired. The decision applies equally to all jobs and all Communists.

Mrs. Walker Gets Fired

The case goes back to October 6, 1949, when Cutter Laboratories, manufacturers of biologicals in Emeryville, California, discharged Doris Walker, a clerk-typist. Mrs. Walker was president of Local 225, United Office and Professional Workers of America, one of the Communist-dominated unions expelled from the CIO. Mrs. Walker's discharge took place during a bitter and heated series of contract negotiations. The firing was processed through the union's grievance procedure and then to an arbitration board, which ordered the company to reinstate Mrs. Walker. Upon the company's refusal to carry out the board's order, the union appealed to the superior court to enforce the ruling. In February, 1951, a superior court upheld the arbitration ruling and ordered the company to comply with it. The case was then taken to the district court of appeals which affirmed the decision of the lower court and ordered the reinstatement of Mrs. Walker. The company appealed this decision to the state supreme court, which reversed the lower court's decision upholding the arbitration award.

There is no question of security in this case. The discharge was not requested by any governmental authority, for although the company manufactures antibiotics for military and civilian use, it is not in any way under military jurisdiction.

Mrs. Walker was discharged by the company, according to the proceedings, because the company claimed that she had falsified her employment application and because the company was convinced that for a number of years she had "participated actively in the Communist Party's activities." Both these charges appear to be true, but the arbitration board and the superior court maintained that she was, in fact, fired for union activity.

MRS. WALKER applied for employment as a clerk-typist at Cutter Laboratories on October 4, 1946. At the time, she did not state on her application blank that she had studied law and had been admitted to the state bar in 1942. Nor did she state that she had been employed as an OPA attorney for two years and as a labor lawyer for almost another two years. Indeed, she appears to have concealed these facts by giving false references to cover her employment history during that period. That Mrs. Walker was no ordinary clerk-typist is further evidenced by her concealing of the fact that she had left her legal practice to become a cannery worker and organizer for the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union, another of the groups expelled from the CIO. One of the three canneries for which she had worked had discharged her for her refusal to state whether she was a Communist.

But Cutter Laboratories, by its own admission, had known these facts for more than two years before the discharge, and had done nothing about them. According to the minority dissenting opinion, the entire state supreme court was in agreement with the arbitration award "that for two and one-half years Doris Walker's Communist affiliations were a matter of indifference to Cutter, that Cutter therefore waived her Communist affiliations as a ground for discharging her, that it discharged her solely because of her lawful union activity, and that in doing so it violated its collective bargaining agreement with the union."

Why, then, did the court majority reverse the arbitration award? Because, says the decision, ". . . an arbitration award which directs that a member of the Communist Party who is dedicated to that Party's program of 'sabotage, force, violence and the like' be reinstated to employment in a plant which produces the antibiotics used by both the military and civilians is against public policy, as expressed in both federal and state laws, is therefore illegal and void and will not be enforced . . ."

CONSIDER that statement for a moment. The court says that an employer may discharge for any reason, including legitimate union activity, an employee who is a Communist, and there is no protection of any kind for the employee, including even the existence of a union contract. The dissenting opinion points out that the only conclusion that can be drawn from the majority opinion is that "the court abrogates not only the right of employers and unions to contract for the employment of Communists, but the right of Communists, as a class, to enter into binding contracts."

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After discussing this point at some length, the dissenters went on to ask, "If it is illegal to employ a Communist, is it illegal to allow a Communist unemployment benefits? If the threat of Communist activity makes an employment contract with a known Communist illegal as against public policy, does it not also invalidate other contracts? Thus, can a landlord break his lease with a Communist on the ground that his building may be sabotaged? Can a buyer refuse to accept and pay for goods purchased from a Communist on the ground that they may contain cleverly concealed defects? Can a seller refuse to deliver goods sold to a Communist on the ground that they may be used to promote Communist activities? Can an owner refuse to pay for construction work by a licensed contractor who is a Communist? Indeed, can a Communist be licensed as a contractor? If contracts with Communists are illegal, cannot Communists themselves violate them with impunity?"

The majority opinion gives no answer to these disturbing questions, or even a clue to possible answers. Neither does it answer the extremely important question of who is to determine what a Communist is. Isn't it possible that before long the courts will find their dockets full of contract-violation cases involving real or alleged Communists?

Upon Suspicion of a Possibility

This decision of the California Supreme Court is all the more disturbing because of this court's history. These are the same justices who held a law against miscegenation unconstitutional and supported the position of the university professors who refused to sign the California loyalty oath. The position they took against restrictive housing covenants was upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

Perhaps the majority feels it has merely stated in precise legal terms the generalities of most present-day anti-Communist legislation. The court majority justified its position in the Walker case by referring to the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954, all of which tend to picture even the lowliest member of the Communist Party as an MVD agent. The fact that Mrs. Walker was never accused of committing acts of sabotage or of disturbing the "order" of the plant, but on the contrary seems to have done her work conscientiously, had no effect on the court's decision that ". . . the employer had not only the right to protect itself and its customers against the clear and present danger of continuing a Communist Party member in its employ, but also the duty to take such action as it deemed wise to preserve order in

its plant and to protect its other employees, both union and non-union, against the same danger and possibility of 'sabotage, force, violence and the like.'"

According to the majority decision of the court, present-day legislation supports an employer's right to discharge a Communist if the employer merely suspects there is a "possibility of 'sabotage, force, violence and the like.'" That the government did not require the discharge does not alter the situation; quite the contrary, for the decision states: "The fact that the company was not specifically obliged by any governmental regulation to discharge Mrs. Walker affects in no wise its right to do so or the impelling public policy which militates against the order for her reinstatement; in this country, built as it has been upon the initiative and self-reliance of its citizens, the government is expected to step in only where the employer has failed or is unable to act for himself, and he is not obligated to await a governmental decree before taking steps to protect himself or to exercise his right to discharge employees who upon the established facts are dedicated to be disloyal to him, to be likewise disloyal to the American labor union they may purport to serve, and who constitute a continuing risk to both the employing company and the public depending upon the company's products."

THIS DECISION, which gives private employers rights hitherto reserved to government agencies, has already created a furor in legal and labor circles in California. A petition for a rehearing of the case by the state supreme court will be filed on behalf of Mrs. Walker by her attorneys. The AFL, CIO, and American Civil Liberties Union have all filed *amicus curiae* briefs and can be expected to participate in the arguments. In the opinion of the CIO, which by its own statement is not a "partisan" of Mrs. Walker, the decision sets a dangerous precedent for the reversal of labor arbitration awards, which up until now have been almost unassailable in the courts; deprives workers of collective-bargaining rights; and is against United States public policy because it deprives Communist citizens of their status and rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

The A.C.L.U. position is that the decision, among other things, violates the right of freedom of speech and association and denies equal protection under the law to Communists.

Since it appears unlikely that the state court will grant a rehearing, an attempt will be made to take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The A.C.L.U. attorney in Los Angeles, A. L. Wirin, feels fairly confident that the Constitutional issues are clear enough to warrant the U.S. Supreme Court's taking jurisdiction.

In the meantime, there are likely to be some dark days in the land of golden sunshine for individuals—both real Communists and alleged Communists—who are still legally citizens but who apparently no longer have even the right to earn a living.

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The Soviet Spy Case That Shook Australia

DOUGLAS WILKIE

MELBOURNE

IT WAS shortly after eight in the evening of April 13, 1954, that a hushed Parliament heard Prime Minister Robert G. Menzies announce that the chief of the Soviet secret police in Australia had deserted and revealed "a vast spy ring operated from the Soviet Embassy in Canberra."

"It is my unpleasant duty to convey to the House," Mr. Menzies said, "that some days ago one Vladimir Mikhailovich Petrov, who has been Third Secretary and Consul in the Soviet Embassy since February 1951, voluntarily left his diplomatic employment and made to the Australian government, through the Australian Security Intelligence Organization, a request for political asylum."

Members of the Labour Opposition were glum and perplexed. A general election was only six weeks away. They sensed a political stunt, pulled by the massively eloquent yet agile Menzies, who inspires more respect in Labour ranks than the rest of the governing Liberal Party put together.

Labour men looked anxiously to their bench for guidance from their leader, the only man in the Australian Parliament who is a match for Menzies, not in repartee but in rasping logic. The craggy gray-maned Dr. H. V. Evatt was not there. He had left Parliament House at five to catch a plane for Sydney, where he had an official dinner engagement.

In announcing a "vast Russian spy ring," Menzies also deplored having to establish a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the affair during an election campaign. As his Labour critics were quick to point out later, Menzies had arranged a preliminary formal meeting of the Commission on May 17, a fortnight before the polling, at which enough of the coming evidence was outlined to titillate the public's curiosity and whet its worst suspicions. A member of Evatt's staff was thought to be involved.

Australian Labour was on the spot. It had to fight the elections under challenge by Menzies to prove that it was better qualified to handle a Communist plot than the Liberals. However, when the general elections were held on May 29 the Government only just scraped through, with a narrower margin of seats than before, while Evatt held his own seat for Sydney by an increased majority.

Labour spokesmen claimed that but for the Petrov "scare" they

would have had an easy victory. The Liberals preferred to credit the virtues of their Administration.

Evatt's Stand

When the Inquiry resumed on June 11, the public had its first view of Petrov, a tubby, moon-faced little man with black hair and heavy horn-rimmed glasses, who had stumbled out of the darkness of the Russian Embassy at Canberra into the Australian sunshine, pursued by the specter of the late Lavrenti Beria.

Petrov, former MVD chief at the Russian Embassy, varies a phlegmatic exterior with a repetitive, meaningless smile, lit occasionally by a flicker of cunning. He seemed somewhat miscast as a member of a vast network of espionage, terror, and subversion in which he was able to attain the rank of colonel.

Petrov had the forethought to bring with him on his flight from the Embassy a wad of MVD documents. He received five thousand Australian pounds in cash from the Australian Security officers and a guarantee of political asylum from the Prime Minister. But even in this strange climax of his career, Petrov found himself obscured by bigger events around him.

When Petrov walked out of the Embassy he had not known that his wife and MVD colleague, whom he planned to leave with neither a husband's farewell nor a comrade's warning, would seek asylum in circumstances far more dramatic than his own. The agony of mind of the handsome Petrova and her last-minute delivery from her MVD escort at Darwin on April 20 made exciting newspaper copy.

Now, as the Commission got into its stride, Petrov found that it was Evatt and not himself who held the center of the stage. Long suspect among trade-union bosses as an unpredictable "intellectual," and mistrusted by the Irish Catholic right wing of his party because of his "leniency" toward Communists, Evatt was already under challenge.

He saw his only hope in the tactical offensive. He pictured himself as the victim of a deft and outrageous political trick. ("Another Zinoviev Letter" and "a second Reichstag Fire" were some of the labels he gave it.) He announced that he would appear before the Commission as defense counsel for his staff. Evatt's courage won applause from many Australians, just as it had in 1951 when he accepted the trade-union brief in High Court proceedings which threw out the Communist Party Dissolution bill as unconstitutional, and just as it had when he led the "No" campaign in a referendum on the same issue, allying millions of Australians to his libertarian philosophy by sheer weight of personal courage and zeal.

Document J

It soon became evident that Evatt was not arguing before the Commission merely to clear his staff. He was intent on proving that the most vital paper handed over to Security by

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Petrov was in part a forgery concocted to bring about his own political downfall. This document (referred to as "Document J") was a typescript attributed by the Petrovs to Rupert Lockwood, a Sydney journalist and well-known Communist, who had typed it at the Soviet Embassy. Its first three sections were headed "Japanese Interests in Australia," "American Economic Penetration in Australia," and "Dr. Evatt."

It was in the third section that some members of Evatt's staff were named as sources of information, and it was this section that Evatt sought to show had been concocted and inserted without Lockwood's knowledge.

Concocted by whom? By Petrov? By Security agents? By Menzies? Was Evatt deliberately throwing a fog of confusion over the Inquiry? Or was he so obsessed by a persecution complex and personal dislike of Menzies that he genuinely believed his accusations?

At times the three judges who made up the Commission, Justices Owen, Philp, and Ligertwood, sought to curb Evatt in his tortuous, aggressive grilling of Petrov, the Security Police, and other witnesses. At other times, perhaps, they felt bound in fairness to give Evatt the widest latitude. Possibly they had no option. The Inquiry was dominated by the powerful personality of the great lawyer who had once slugged it out with Vishinsky in the U.N. and tangled the Privy Council at Westminster with a marathon address on constitutional law.

The Commissioners bucked eventually when Evatt commented publicly on witnesses. They barred him as counsel and delivered an interim report (October 21) that was a censure of Evatt. They found that his charges were "fantastic and wholly unsupported by any credible evidence." Yet having once allowed Evatt to take the center of the stage, the three Commissioners never succeeded in putting the Inquiry back into proper perspective. Nor was Mr. W. J. Windeyer, Q.C., appointed to lead the evidence for the Crown—a kindly, ponderous stickler for legal detail—equipped for the role of grand inquisitor in a high-level political probe.

EVATT, unabashed by his failure to impress the Inquiry, repeated his charges of conspiracy in Parliament, over the radio, and in a barrage of statements to the press.

He caused a diplomatic incident by appealing directly to the French government to intervene and investigate Petrov's charges of espionage against Mme. Rose-Marie Ollier, former Second Secretary of the French Embassy, to the effect that she had disclosed to the Communists a shipment of arms to Indo-China. (Mme. Ollier has since been tried in France and exculpated of all but indiscretion.)

Evatt charged that Menzies deliberately timed the snap announcement of Petrov's defection to synchronize with an election campaign and embarrass Labour after, in Evatt's words, Petrov "had been under observation and cultivation for two years by Security officers."

Still more sinister, said Evatt, Menzies had known for long before April 13 that Petrov had exposed at least one of Evatt's personal staff as a Kremlin dupe. But Menzies had neglected to warn Evatt or afford him any of the confidence and courtesy which it is the time-honored British practice for a leader of Her Majesty's Government to extend to the leader of Her Majesty's Opposition. The *Times* of London conceded, through its Australian correspondent, that "It was an astonishing coincidence that Petrov should decide to fashion a new life for himself on election eve," and remarked on "the singular good fortune of Mr. Menzies."

Dossier on the Press

The evidence, when it came, was an anticlimax. It revealed that in spite of all the charges and countercharges, the one man on Evatt's personal staff who was clearly a Red stooge was his temporary press secretary, Fergan O'Sullivan, and even he was cast in the role of cad rather than that of formidable villain.

O'Sullivan, a young Irish-Australian journalist who was on the Canberra staff of the Sydney *Morning Herald* in 1951, compiled dossiers on his colleagues in the Parliamentary press gallery and gave them to the local Tass correspondent, who gave them to the MVD for use when it might become profitable to play on some newspaperman's weakness.

This document, rich in sexual and alcoholic legend, was handed to the Commission and suppressed. But enough of it was quoted, in indirect and anonymous context, to draw anxious protests from the Australian Journalists' Association. The nearest thing to military information in the so-called "Moscow letters" yet made public is journalist Lockwood's mention of an airfield in northwestern Australia which "the Americans plan to use for aggression against Southeast Asia." The airfield was built during the Second World War and later abandoned.

Probably the only people not nonplused by the drift of the Inquiry were the Security officers and the leaders of Australia's shrunken but strident Communist Party. Security, if it had really got hold of any secrets in exchange for this exposure of its own methods, was not having them bandied in evidence. The Communists on their side had the single purpose of discrediting and delaying the Inquiry by organizing demonstrations and by challenging the uncertain powers of a Commission set up under an ambiguous Federal Constitution to inquire into a crime which Federal law does not recognize as having any existence in peacetime.

The Commissioners have had to

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suffer contemptuous reference to themselves both inside and outside the Inquiry, and have been uncertain of their powers to deal with hostile witnesses. Judges in the State of Victoria refused to serve on the Commission, holding to a strong British belief that the judiciary must lose some of its prestige if it becomes involved in a political inquiry.

To the general public there was much lurid entertainment in all this, but little enlightenment. Here was an Australian spy probe without an Australian spy, a theme of treachery without the exposure of any Australian traitors worthy of the name.

Australian Communists and their dupes had helped the Russians with information, up to a point. Past this point they had been halted by qualms of patriotism, by the vigilence of Security, and most often by a sheer incapacity to tell the Russians anything worth knowing. So the Inquiry dragged on through 1954, through eighty-two sitting days and the evidence of thirty witnesses amounting to two million words of transcript.

Petrov's Progress

By and large, the Australian witnesses were pathetic supernumeraries. The key actors in the making and unmasking of Beria's espionage network were former Russians, displaced persons, and "plants" from the prison and refugee camps of Europe and the Far East carried in on the tide of Australia's big immigration program.

It was from these flotsam and jetsam, with names like Friedenbergs, Bialoguski, Daghian, and Vasiliev, supplemented by the contents of the MVD's "Moscow Letters," that the real Petrov story emerged.

Vladimir Petrov was born in a village of Larikha, near Ishim, in western Siberia. He was baptized in the village Orthodox church in the name of Afanasy Mikhailovich Shorokhov.

His father was a peasant who could neither read nor write. The boy started school at eight in 1915. But the village school was closed in 1917 because of peasant disorders and two years later he went to work with the village blacksmith, at nine rubles a year.

In 1923, when he was sixteen, Afanasy Shorokhov joined the Kom-

somol. They sent him to Sverdlovsk for indoctrination and reading and writing, and by 1927 he was a professional revolutionary, a full adult member of the Communist Party, and a "Pioneer leader" in a village near his birthplace.

By the time Germany attacked Russia in 1941, Shorokhov was a major of state security, head of cipher section in the OGPU, the husband of one of the prettiest blondes in the OGPU, and the highly privileged tenant of two rooms in a three-room apartment at Furmanny Perelok 15, in Moscow. His wife Evdokia (Eudoxia) had been the "recognized" mistress of the agent Krivosh, who had been arrested in the 1937 purges and had disappeared into captivity. The handsome, slim Evdokia could speak Swedish, English, and Japanese.

In July, 1942, the couple were posted as NKVD cipher functionaries to the Soviet Embassy in Sweden, and assigned the new "and more suitable for Sweden" name of Petrov. (Petrov is the equivalent of Peterson or Peters.) Back in Moscow after the war, Petrov became a full NKVD operator. He was assigned to appoint and supervise agents who would report on the loyalty of crews in the vessels of the Soviet Union and satellites. By the time Petrov was posted in 1951 to the Soviet Embassy in Canberra as a clerk and MVD man, he had been awarded the Order of the Red Star twice and the Order of the Red Banner once, "for devotion to duty."

Petrov's duties as MVD chief in Australia comprised the culling of Australian political intelligence and the watching of D.P. migrants in Australia for "anti-Soviet" activity and, if necessary, employing blackmail against D.P.s to have them spy on other D.P.s. His culling of political intelligence was inept by western standards. He showed throughout an assiduous blend of naïveté and deviousness, impaired in its latter stages by the conviviality of the taproom and the diversions of trout fishing in the hills around Canberra. His main informants were Communists and fellow travelers, and their reports, fragments of which were cited before the Royal Commission, seem partisan and valueless. He was aided by successive Tass correspondents and they were aided by local Communists and fellow-traveler journalists.

Long Arm of the MVD

An illustration of Soviet use of a D.P. came in Petrov's testimony on Andrew Friedenbergs, a former Latvian lawyer, now a worker at the General Motors assembly plant in Melbourne. Petrov said that when he was being briefed at MVD headquarters in Moscow before coming on his Australian mission, he was shown the Friedenbergs dossier. According to this, soon after the Russian conquest of Latvia Friedenbergs became a spy for the MVD and was allocated a code name. Friedenbergs spied on his compatriots. Then, according to Petrov, after the Gersian conquest of Latvia he used to visit German headquarters, for reasons unknown to the Russians. When the Germans retreated, Friedenbergs and his family retreated with them. But after the war, Friedenbergs reported to the Soviet diplomatic mission in Copenhagen and gave information on the anti-Soviet activities of his compatriots in D.P. camps.

The Russians lost touch with Friedenbergs until they intercepted in the censorship a letter from him in Melbourne to his sister in Latvia, in which he enclosed a photograph. In Moscow Petrov was shown the photograph and ordered to find

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and use Friedenbergs; the MVD gave him Friedenbergs's address.

In Melbourne, Petrov went to Friedenbergs's house and was admitted by a relative. "I showed him the photograph removed from the letter to his sister, addressed him by his MVD code name of 'Sigma,' and showed him my MVD identity card. He just said: 'O.K.' "

Friedenbergs's assignments, Petrov said, included finding the address in Sydney of a Latvian resistance leader whom the Russians had sentenced to death, and that in Melbourne of a Latvian woman who was reported to have passed "treasonable" remarks about Stalin in a D.P. camp in Germany eight years earlier. Through being a committee member of a Latvian club, Friedenbergs had access to its archives and those of kindred clubs, and was able to trace Latvian D.P.'s quickly. Friedenbergs, in the witness box, flatly denied the whole story and claimed that it was a case of mistaken identity.

Another example of an MVD chore cited by Petrov was the case of an aged and close-to-death Russian-born woman living in Sydney. The MVD in Moscow had been given by the postal censors mail from this woman to her relatives in Russia asking that a member of the family come and ease her deathbed loneliness. The MVD told Petrov that it saw here a chance "to introduce to Australia an illegal cadre worker." They told Petrov to visit the old woman, find how clearly, if at all, she remembered her relatives in Russia, get a photograph by which she did remember one, and let the MVD have it, along with any comment by the old woman on the relative's characteristics. Moscow would supply a double. Petrov called on the old woman and the matter was in hand in Moscow when he defected.

The so-called "Moscow letters" that Petrov brought from the Embassy detail the political intelligence work organized by his predecessors and himself.

Here are references to Australian immigrants such as Divsek, a former Czech secret service agent; Daghian, an Armenian passport "fixer"; Novikoff, an ex-Communist White Russian from Manchuria—all of whom were to be enlisted as Soviet agents, and all of whom, in their testimony to the Commission, claimed to have rejected MVD advances.

The MVD reported more success with Arkady Vasiliev, a Melbourne manufacturer, who was ready in 1952 to give away the "secret" of producing hard-wearing aviation bearings. In evidence the process turned out to be no secret, and Vasiliev claimed that he had pretended it was in order to have an excuse to take a sample to Moscow and visit his relatives there.

Most assiduous MVD attention was paid to the Australian Department of External Affairs, counterpart of the U.S. State Department, and here the MVD sought the help of Communists and fellow travelers in minor posts in the Department. These Australians dealt not with the Russians but with a man whom the Royal Commission sought as a witness, Walter Seddon Clayton, "security officer" of the Australian Communist Party and a onetime member of the party's central committee. (Clayton showed up early this month and volunteered to testify. As this article went to press he had not yet been heard by the Commission.)

A Communist girl typist employed by then External Affairs Minister Evatt would take off an extra carbon copy of any outgoing Evatt mail she thought would interest the Russians. In the lunch hour each day she would deliver her carbon copies to Clayton at the Sydney offices of the Communist Party.

Security Countermoves

From the day Petrov and his wife landed in Australia on February 5, 1951, until April 3, 1954, the date of his defection, every step they made outside the Russian Embassy was watched and tagged. The Australian Security Service watched them to see whom they got in touch with in the Australian community and, more importantly, to see if Petrov was happy in his job.

The Deputy Director of the Security Service, bulky ex-detective George Ronald Richards, told the Royal Commission that Security had studied in greatest detail the record of Soviet diplomat Igor Gouzenko's defection in Canada. From this study they devised a technique for "studying" (in the Communist sense) Soviet diplomats in Australia with an eye to the Russians' possible defection.

To "study" Petrov, Australian Security assigned not one of its own staff but a willing amateur, an émigré Pole named Mikhail Bialoguski.

Since 1945 Bialoguski had done odd jobs for Federal agencies, mainly infiltrating into Communist-front movements. But after Petrov landed in February, 1951, Security decided to test its "defection drill," and told Bialoguski to concentrate on Comrade Petrov.

Not until July 7, 1951, did Bialoguski report to Security a contact with Petrov. They met over a glass of vodka at the bar of the leftist Russian Social Club in Sydney. By the time of Petrov's defection in April, 1954, Bialoguski had reported in detail to Security on more than two hundred conversations with Petrov, mostly over vodka.

Bialoguski became Petrov's closest and most trusted friend. By April, 1952, Bialoguski reported his suspicion that Petrov, although nominally third secretary at the Embassy, in reality was the MVD's chief operative in Australia. In April, 1953, soon after Stalin's death, he told Security that Petrov had been recalled to Moscow and was uneasy.

A few days later, Bialoguski reported that Petrov complained of eye trouble. This provided Security with an easy chance to plant a "disinterested party" suggested in Bialoguski's memo. Security had Bialo-

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guski persuade Petrov to take his eye trouble to a leading ophthalmic surgeon, Halley Charles Beckett.

Security then persuaded Beckett, a puckish and seemingly vague man, that he should sound out his new patient on any wish Petrov might have to stay in Australia. He was to suggest to Petrov that, should he ever think of retiring in Australia instead of returning to Moscow, Beckett had influential friends who could fix everything. When Beckett made the suggestion, Petrov sighed and said: "I'm only a country boy and I'd have to do something on the land."

Bialoguski took Petrov to see a poultry farm on which Security was willing to advance five thousand Australian pounds. "How fine it would be to live on a little place like this, away from ambassadors!" Petrov said. On February 27 Bialoguski arranged a meeting between Petrov and Deputy Security Chief Richards.

When Bialoguski's role was revealed at the Royal Commission, Mrs. Petrov (whose husband seemingly had not told her much) denounced Bialoguski as "a double—yours and ours" who had been working for Russia.

Embassy Co-operation

With Richards's first contact with Petrov, Bialoguski's task was ended and Petrov's dealings were henceforth with professional agents. Richards told the Royal Commission that even when he took over, he thought it was touch and go whether Petrov would defect. He was afraid to return to Moscow because of "adverse reports" on him by a former ambassador, but the uncertainty of his future in Australia also frightened him. Also, Petrov doubted whether his wife, a seemingly rock-hard Communist, would stay, although she resented the adverse report and thought it stemmed from Embassy jealousies. Mrs. Petrov was by far the most attractive and probably the most intelligent of the Embassy wives.

Richards said he thought Petrov did not make up his mind until the night of March 30, when the Embassy branch of the party met and denounced both Petrovs in terms which were not revealed to the Commission but which almost certainly stemmed from failure to observe Embassy security rules on safeguarding documents.

By this time Security thought there was a risk that the Russians would "liquidate" Petrov, spirit him away, or follow him to Sydney and find he was dealing with Richards. But, Richards told the Royal Commission, at every one of his many meetings with Petrov, Australian agents made the fullest check to find whether Petrov was being shadowed by his countrymen. He never was. This is one of the strangest sides of the Petrov story: his ability to roam at will over Australia even after being denounced by the Embassy Communists.

Richards's final dealings with Petrov concerned mainly a formal assurance in the name of the Australian government that he would be given political asylum and that he would be helped to make a living. Also Richards wanted Petrov to help himself to as many Embassy documents as he could to substantiate his eventual testimony on Soviet intelligence work in Australia.

The Labour Split

When the Inquiry reopened on January 17, after a Christmas recess, most Australians were tired of it. They would have been ready to say so publicly but for the danger of seeming to agree with local Communists, who plugged the line that it was a political stunt and at the same time did their best to turn it into one.

Once more it was Evatt who got

the headlines. Having accused Menzies of an infamous plot against the Labour Party, Evatt turned on his own enemies within his party and charged them with Popish trickery, by implication if not by name. In a memorandum to the Federal executive of the Labour Party he did not name Catholic Action, but made his meaning clear by charging that an "outside body" was intent not only on destroying Communism but obstructing Socialism.

He denounced the Victoria state executive of the party and also Bartholomew Santamaria, an Australian of Italian-Spanish extraction with a brilliant scholastic record, who is a driving force of the Catholic Rural Movement, which is dedicated to changing the base of Australia's economy with the help of peasant immigrants. Santamaria has powerful allies within the Labour Party—parliamentarians like Keon, Bourke, and Mullens, whose expulsion Evatt demanded.

But it was no simple sectarian line-up. Arthur Augustus Calwell, deputy leader of the Labour Party, is himself a devout Catholic but is as inacceptable as Evatt to Santamaria, partly because Calwell is a Socialist in the old Labour tradition and partly because he sides with Dr. Daniel Mannix, ninety-year-old Archbishop of Melbourne, the "grey eminence" of Australian politics, who is often at variance with his superior in the hierarchy, Cardinal Gilroy of Sydney. When Calwell was Australia's Minister for Immigration in the Chifley Government, *News Weekly*, the organ of the Catholic Rural Movement, denounced him as "undemocratic, un-Australian and un-Christian."

Evatt inveighed not only against his personal enemies. He demanded disbandment of the so-called "industrial groups" within the unions. These were formed in 1951, under Catholic Action aegis and with Labour Party sanction, as a counter to Communist cells. They played a part in routing the Communists, but now, charged Evatt, they were trying to take control of the party by "methods akin to Fascism." Evatt declared: "Any secret organization, the object of which is to gain control of the party in order to concentrate on a policy of sheer anti-Communism, must in the long run assist Communism, just as McCarthyism has done in the United States."

Many non-Catholic Labourites refused to support Evatt lest they entrench him in the position of leadership. Others, including influential Catholics, believed that they had to

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back up his attack in order to defeat the Catholic extremists. One Labour Party official said privately, "We'll get rid of Evatt within a year, but it'll be another ten years before Labour regains office at Canberra."

Meanwhile, Evatt stays in the saddle for one reason above all others—there is nobody of sufficient caliber to replace him.

A New Party?

There are Labour men in the Chifley mold who believe that the welfare state, now that it has been won in Australia, must become a political wasteland unless it is matched by Socialist planning in industry. But there are others who fear that Socialism is a first step to Communism. There are Labour men who believe that Australia's foreign policy must be based on coexistence. There are others, like the editor of *News Weekly*, who do not. This editor expressed the hope, when MacArthur was advancing in Korea, that the Americans would carry the war into Manchuria.

This schism in a great working-class movement—a movement inherited from the Tolpuddle martyrs, the Irish rebels, and the goldfield diggers, was inevitable sooner or later. It would have come without Evatt, without Menzies, and without Petrov. But each of these three principals in the drama, whether the master or slave of expediency, has given a nudge to history.

The Inquiry may last another month or two. It may just possibly have some surprises. But Australians are more interested in the prospects of a second Labour Party formed under clerical aegis—a right-wing group that might one day hold the balance of power at Canberra.

The Arab League: Happy Band of Schemers

RAY ALAN

A STRANGE silence, born of exhaustion and a sense of utter futility, fell over the assembled Arab League Premiers and Foreign Ministers. The date was Sunday, February 6; the place, Cairo. They had been conferring, arguing, and at times shouting for two weeks in an attempt to co-ordinate their views on the Iraqi

government's decision to sign its "American-sponsored" pact with Turkey.

The deadlock was complete. Some delegations were even divided within themselves on the issue. The Lebanese Foreign Minister had argued violently against a proposal introduced by his Premier; the Jordanian Foreign Minister had been ordered by his government to vote against a resolution he himself had sponsored; a leading member of the Egyptian delegation, Mahmoud Riad, had contradicted his chief, Lieutenant Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Colonel Nasser rose to his feet. "Well, gentlemen," he observed, "we seem to have said everything that can be said on this matter. Shall we now draw up the usual communiqué reaffirming our complete unity of purpose and the unshakable solidarity of the Arab League?"

The statesmen emerged from their final session wreathed in rather sickly smiles, but the "usual communiqué" was, for once, not issued. Colonel Nasser called a press conference to drive home his threat that Egypt would leave the Arab League's military alliance the day Iraq signed the pact with Turkey.

But it was King Saud of Saudi Arabia who summed up the conference in the bluntest terms. After warning the Arabs of the danger of becoming "a saddle for imperialism" and "cannon fodder for the sake of the imperialists," and of being involved in "an all-out war in which our lands would be destroyed merely for the sake of others," he declared, "The Arab League is dying. . . . Its pillars are already crumbling."

A New York Office

An Egyptian diplomat in France told one of his western opposite numbers a few days before this was written: "I always expected that when the Arab League's grave came to be dug, it would be Arabs who did the digging. I never expected the United States government to lend a hand." His is a view that is being echoed throughout the Near East.

As it now stands, the Turkish-Iraqi pact is a puny instrument, even though "Washington officials" were reported by the United Press on February 13 as having interpreted it as meaning that "Iraq can now be counted upon to resist [Russian] aggression."

The pact provides only for non-committal military staff consultations and the exemption from customs duties of military stores passing through either nation on the way to the other. The Iraqi Premier, Nuri Pasha, has twice declared, notably in the Bagdad Parliament on February 6, that whatever arrangements he may make with Turkey are

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directed primarily against Israel, and that anti-Israel measures come higher on his list of military priorities than anti-Communism. Nevertheless, Arab opinion remains skeptical. It regards Nuri Pasha's involvement in a "western" pact, however toothless, as an abject sellout to imperialism.

The State Department must have foreseen this reaction, intelligent Arabs argue, and must have been warned by its men on the spot that the outcome would be the disruption of the Arab League in its present form. Presumably, therefore, the United States wanted to destroy it.

On the other hand, the League's secretary-general, Mohammed Abdel Khalek Hassouna, a former Egyptian Foreign Minister, brought back from Washington last October the impression that the State Department took a sympathetic view of the organization—and of himself.

Hassouna had asked permission to open an information office in New York for the purpose of conducting Arab League propaganda. State Department officials told Hassouna, he claims, that they saw no objection, politely adding the diplomatic equivalent of "Keep your nose clean."

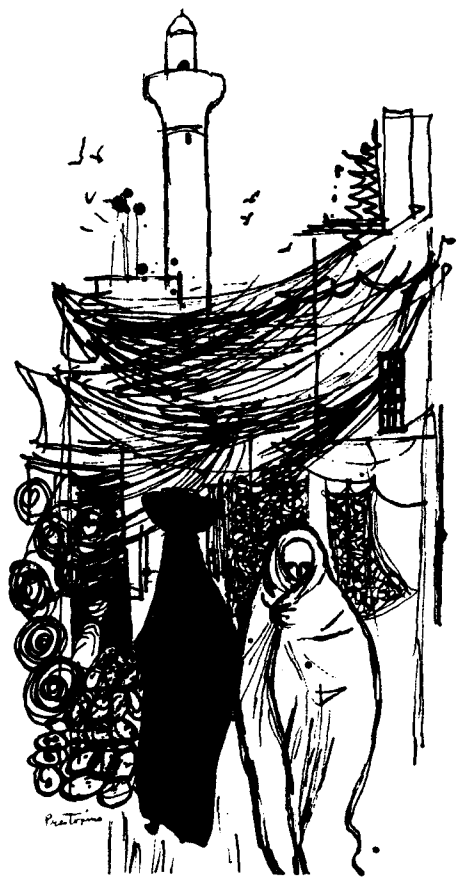
An objection did subsequently arise, however, over Hassouna's request for diplomatic immunity for the proposed office. This privilege was required to safeguard the secrecy of the office's communications with Cairo as well as—in the words of an Arab source—to protect it from American Zionist attacks, including libel suits. The State Department rejected his request on the ground that diplomatic status could not be accorded a nongovernmental agency.

The Arab solution of the problem was ingenious, to say the least. The Arab League Information Center is just about to open its doors in New York at 445 Park Avenue. Housed in the same suite of offices are the Arab League mission to the U.N. and the Yemen delegation to the U.N. Chief of all three agencies is an Egyptian diplomat, Kamel Abdel Rakim, former Ambassador in Washington, who now, as Yemen's Ambassador to the U.N., enjoys diplomatic immunity not only for his own person but also for the premises he occupies, which happen to be coterminous with those of the Arab League Information Center.

Whitehall Gets Panicky

The Arab League—Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, (Trans-)Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen—came into being in March, 1945. (Libya joined later.) Its creation marked the point at which the desires of the British Foreign Office and the ruling Arab oligarchies met for an instant, and then drew away from each other, never again to attain the same identity.

The Iraqi royal family and the then Emir Abdullah of Trans-Jordan could be counted upon to align themselves with Whitehall, which had supplied their thrones. Britain's



defeat of Rashid Ali and the Iraqi military junta in June, 1941, the British occupation of Syria, the same month, the ultimatum to King Farouk forcing him to accept Nahas Pasha as his Premier in February, 1942, and, finally, the victory over Rommel at El Alamein convinced Arab ruling circles generally that Britain would be the arbiter in the postwar Near East—at least until a greater power came along. Moreover, that majority of Arab notables which had hoped for a British defeat was quick to see the importance of a token eleventh-hour declaration of war against Germany, once the tide had turned, and a *rapprochement* with Britain, without which the Arab states would, like Spain and Italy, have been excluded from the United Nations.

Whitehall, for its part, had only recently begun to give Near Eastern affairs a high priority in their own right. The region had traditionally been regarded as essentially a passageway to India in which it was sufficient to maintain a somnolent *status quo* as a barrier against internal unheaval and external intrigue. The Ottoman Empire met this specification until 1914, and the Arab régimes that succeeded it in the British sphere of influence were shaped with a view to their taking over the job. It required Hitler's lunge toward the area to impose a new conception of its significance, economic as well as strategic, on the minds of British policymakers.

In the course of his personal reappraisal, Churchill toyed with the idea of establishing a rather more positive relationship with the Turks and the Jewish community of Palestine than had prevailed in the past, thus liberating British policy to some extent from unpredictable Arab pressures. As so often in such matters, his thinking was ten years ahead of most of those around him. British officialdom generally still tended to regard Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's atheistic, republican Turks as Bolsheviks and to mistrust the Jews as insufficiently manipulative.

The shock of Premier Rashid Ali's coup in Iraq panicked Whitehall into an Arab policy that was to culminate in what Churchill described as Bevin's "squalid war" in Palestine. British troops were still mopping up in Iraq when, on May 29, 1941, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden made his famous pledge of Britain's "full support" in promoting "a greater degree" of Arab unity. Unfortunately, as with the 1939 Palestine White Paper that had been extorted from Neville Chamberlain's Government by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem's terror campaign against the Jews, Arab politicians noted not only the pledge but the circumstances in which it was issued. "Ac-

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tivists" in Egypt, Palestine, and Iran (and Egyptian broadcasts in support of Mau Mau barbarism in Kenya) were later to invoke these two gestures in justification of their belief that the best way of changing a British government's mind is to kick it.

Birth of Pan-Arabism

Linguistically, the Near East is almost a unity, and the idea of welding its Arabic-speaking peoples into a corresponding political whole has much to recommend it. The concept is no less inspiring for bearing little relation to economic, social, and psychological realities within the region. The sentiment in favor of political unification has long existed in most of the Arabic-speaking states, but it has been concentrated in the new middle classes, which, nowhere yet in power, had no direct voice in the intergovernmental discussions that preceded the establishment of the Arab League.

The vast anonymous peasant majority was mute, its universe circumscribed by village boundaries. The support the Arab kings and emirs gave the cause of union was directly proportionate to what they judged to be their chances of dominating it. Powerful tribal sheiks and feudal pashas and beys occasionally paid lip service to Pan-Arabism because it was politically popular, but basically they preferred the advantages they enjoyed under the *status quo*, and secretly worked against it. Senior army officers and minority leaders in the Levant states and Iraq adopted similar attitudes.

ALL EFFECTIVE Pan-Arab plans have foundered on these and similar reefs of contention within a few days of their launching. And the Arab League was but a sorry caricature of Pan-Arabism when the Arab governments, assisted by the British Foreign Office, finally towed it into the gap in 1945. Its very charter lays stress on the maintenance of the existing political fragmentation of the Arabic-speaking world.

From the outset, the centrifugal force within the League could only be neutralized by directing it against something—France, Zionism, ultimately Britain itself. Even the Palestine issue served to stucco over the

League's interdynastic cracks only until it actually unleashed its invasion of Israel. Then began a race between Egyptian and Hashimite (Iraqi and Jordanian) leaders more intent on denying territory to each other than to the Israelis. By the time Israel had chased the Egyptian Army out of the Negev, the League's moral disintegration was complete.

Nevertheless, it survived as an organizational entity. For between one and two years—the period varied from country to country—the Arab leaders succeeded in concealing from their own people the true extent of their defeat. As the news finally did filter in through censorship and repression, a concerted effort was made to drown it in appeals for Arab unity in preparation for an impending "second round" in Israel—the ideal instrument for which would be a renovated Arab League. A formal "collective security pact" was written into the League's framework.

Above all, there was no ready face-saving alternative to the Arab League. Its abandonment would have seemed to articulate Arabs everywhere an admission of ineptitude on the part of their leaders even more shameful than the Palestine debacle. Consequently, meetings continued to be called by the Arab League secretariat to which some states' delegations arrived late and others not at all. Grandiloquent resolutions continued to be passed and pigeonholed. In the lobbies, Iraqi and Jordanian delegates continued to threaten to walk out from time to time, and Egyptian spokesmen continued to threaten the expulsion of dissident states.

The League's then secretary-general, Abdel Rahman Azzam, continued to tour Near Eastern capitals periodically, denouncing the British and the Jews, and even—in hopes of making western blood run cold—discovering Islam's affinities with Communism. The leaders of Iraq carried on a lively feud with Azzam, but since he was a protégé of King Farouk, it took the Cairo officers' revolt to get rid of him.

Shukeiri vs. Hassouna

Under the stewardship of Azzam's successor, Hassouna, the secretariat of the League has become little more than a records office for filing whatever communications are addressed to it and circulating memoranda when requested to do so. It has no policies of its own. However, as *Falastin*, a Jordanian daily published in the Old City of Jerusalem, puts it, "It was Allah's will that the Arab League should not remain silent, so He gave it, in His infinite wisdom, a spokesman who howls like the wind and roars like a raging lion. Do you recognize him, O reader? He is Master Ahmed Shukeiri. . ."

Shukeiri, the League's assistant secretary-general, has donned Azzam's mantle and issued gratuitous calls for increased sniping and terrorism

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along Israel's frontiers. The Arab states will finally liquidate Israel next October, he has announced.

For over a year now, the Arab League's two top officials have been at war with one another. Shukeiri has spared no effort to obstruct, embarrass, and, if possible, oust Hassouna. Their feud reached its climax in New York last fall when Hassouna, attending the opening of the U.N. Assembly, suddenly felt Shukeiri breathing down his neck. Shukeiri had got himself appointed "chairman" of the Syrian delegation to the United Nations. Hassouna ordered him to return to Arab League headquarters and cabled Cairo and Damascus for support. But Egyptian officialdom was busy tussling with the Moslem Brotherhood, and Faris el Khouri, newly appointed Syrian Premier (he has since been ousted), was fighting for his own political survival.

A frantic round of lobbying now began. Hassouna tried to split the Syrian delegation by luring some of its members to take the initiative on matters where protocol normally demanded that Shukeiri be consulted. Shukeiri denounced Hassouna as a tool of the British and declared that he spent too much time junketing in Washington while other Arab diplomats were hard at work at the United Nations. He cunningly associated Hassouna in the minds of the Egyptian delegation with the unpopular Iraqis at a time when personal relations between the late Dr. Azmi (Egypt) and Fadhil el Jamali (Iraq) were at their worst. (A typical Jamali utterance: "How can this Azmi, who was once married to a Jewess, claim to represent Arab interests?") Shukeiri sedulously cultivated Arab press representatives, and last year Hassouna was assailed in the Arabic press, partly at Shukeiri's instigation, for spending three months in America. It was now whispered to him that unless he returned to Cairo promptly, there would be even more violent attacks. Hassouna packed his bags.

Nuri's Ingenious Plan

The League's controlling body is theoretically the biannual Arab League Council, a conference of Premiers and/or Foreign Ministers like the one that has just broken up. It was generally expected to replace Hassouna in the first half of this year, but the crisis provoked by the Turkish-Iraqi pact thrust the matter into the background. Even without this crisis it would have taken more than a change of secretary-general to reinvigorate the League. The Egyptian and Iraqi governments, certainly the two most active participants, had already come to regard it, at least in its present form,

as an obstacle in the way of certain of their "national aspirations."

Iraqi Premier Nuri Pasha es Saïd is undoubtedly sincere in his desire for a link with the new Turkish-Pakistani alliance. At the same time, his desire to incorporate Syria into Iraq is as strong as ever.

Brilliantly stage-managed elections packed the Bagdad Parliament in his favor last fall and gave him an opportunity to crush his most active political opponents and straitjacket the press. In Syria, persistent political instability is enabling Hashimite agents to paint the advantages of union with Iraq in glowing colors. The United States government, hitherto opposed to Iraqi designs on Syria, is eagerly awaiting Nuri's signature on as many dotted lines as possible and therefore is confidently expected in Bagdad to look the other way from now on so far as Syria is concerned. The sixty-six-year-old Iraqi Premier would seem to have some justification for hoping to be able to crown his long political career, provided he escapes assassination, with an audacious double coup. Effected as nearly simultaneously as possible, the two moves—alignment with the Ankara-Karachi axis and annexation of Syria—would complement and uphold each other. Taking the initiative on Syria would win the plaudits of those Iraqis most likely to oppose Nuri's Turkish tie; the latter would ensure western diplomatic backing against whatever hostile pressure Saudi Arabia and Egypt might try to exert.

In Egypt, the leading members of the ruling military junta have no more illusions about the Arab League than Nuri. An important group within the junta has insisted all along on Egypt's need to develop its African interests rather than dissipate its energies in the futile internecine squabbles of the Arab League. A firm hold on the Sudan would improve Egypt's economic position, provide an outlet for emigration from the grimly overcrowded Nile delta, and make Egypt the major nonwhite power in Africa—"the China of Africa," as a leading Egyptian official has put it. Such an *Anschluss*, objectionable to the Hashimite governments of Iraq and Jordan because of the power and prestige it would bring Egypt, would be yet another kidney punch for the Arab League.

Egyptian Pan-Arabism still makes news, however. The dynamic Major Salah Salem, Minister of National Guidance and Sudan Affairs, has initiated moves that threaten to supersede the Arab League with a new and vital organization in which Egypt would enjoy uncontested leadership. On March 6 a joint communiqué from Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia announced agreement to strengthen the Arab structure "politically, militarily, and economically," outside any pacts like the Turkish-Iraqi one. Lebanon and Jordan are under pressure to join the new group, which sounds like the old League with a few parts missing.

Build on Rock

But it might be premature, even now, to conclude from all this that the League has no hope of survival. The only certainty in Arab affairs is uncertainty. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, in Egypt as elsewhere. Nuri Pasha's talent for planning has more than once outrun his executive abilities. Syrian republicans look to the Arab League to

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shield them from Hashimite expansionism. Lebanon, half Christian and half Moslem, trellised by communal and political rifts that match its physical structure, would be grievously divided over what attitude to adopt to an Islamic bloc (advocated in circles close to King Saud and in the Egyptian junta by Colonel es Sadati), an enlarged Iraq, or any other substitute for the Arab League. Those Lebanese Christians and Druses who disliked the League when it was first established would probably wish to cling to it now that it has proved innocuous.

The one firm forecast that can be made now is that for some little time to come the security of America's Near Eastern interests is going to depend less on what is decided in Washington than on the behavior of Iraqi mobs. When and if the State Department decides to disengage itself from its present entanglements, it will either have to make its peace with Egypt and what may then be left of the Arab League—on Egypt's terms—or fall back upon the fundamental strategic tripod composed of Turkey, Iran, and Israel-and-Lebanon, the only military pattern in the region that is politically viable and might even afflict the Kremlin's Near Eastern planners with the insomnia their American opposite numbers are contracting.

British officials, who now shudder when anyone mentions Pan-Arabism or Egyptian leadership of anything more complex than an Olympics committee, appear overwhelmingly to favor leaving the Arab League states to work out their own destiny for a while. They are unenthusiastic about Washington's Iraqi policy, the more so since Nuri Pasha is cunningly using the Turkish pact as an excuse for abrogating his country's sole effective defensive link with the West—the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty under which Britain is allowed two air bases in Iraq.

Israel, incidentally, is increasingly valued in Whitehall as an area of stability in the political quicksands of the Near East, whose security it would be unjustifiable to jeopardize in pursuit of ephemeral Arab League good will.

Mr. Dulles, too, should realize that a "position of strength" has never yet been built on dry rot.

VIEWS & REVIEWS

CHANNELS:
Enlightening the Jerks

MARYA MANNES

GOLIATH is giving notice to David these days. Rising on his elbows, the great giant of communications, Television, is saying to the pygmy critic with his sling: "For one thing, I am not a Philistine. For another, your stones have no effect. You are shooting them at me because I am an easy target; but I am still what people are looking at, and you are not."

In the last month, two pronouncements have put the "intellectual" critic of television on the spot. One was a book entitled *Clear Channels* by a happy Wylie called Max (brother to unhappy Philip); another was the latest memorandum by Sylvester (Pat) Weaver, guiding genius of NBC-TV.

The gist of Mr. Wylie's book, which is garrulous, testy, digressive, and brash but by no means without point or relevance, can be conveyed pretty well in these two paragraphs:

"We are living in the age of the jerk. But what of it? We have always been living in the age of the jerk. Most people have been 'tasteless slobs' since their antediluvian beginnings. They don't mind it. They don't even know it. They think other people are jerks. I see very little to get excited about regarding the quality of our enthusiasms. It isn't television's doing that Liberace has been apotheosized. These are your enthusiasms.

"The 'great era' that is just before us in television, the 'educational revolution' that it is supposed to bring, will all come, in their own way and in their own time, more as the result of television's self-criticism, and because of television's greater sincerity and sensitivity."

The Fabric Wylie Weaves

Mr. Wylie loves television as much as he hates critics, especially Harvard ones. He thinks they are snobbish, mean, above all ignorant of the medium. With a touching solicitude for their gigantic victim, he quotes the judgments of Jack Gould and Gilbert Seldes and the snipings of John Crosby as the sort of unkindness television has been subjected to all these years and which it has borne mutely and helplessly. He says many times that the reason why they —and intellectuals in general—are so ungrateful to the medium is that it is free. (The assumption that a thing is free because it is not paid for bears examining. Is not the shattering of dramatic unity by a shampoo commercial a high price for the viewer to pay for a play?)

Yet there is a lot of health in what Wylie says, and the fact that he works for "Omnibus" and believes in the good things of television balances his refusal to believe that there is any harm or evil in the medium's power or that mass communication in any way lowers the level of human thought and feeling. He likes slobs. And yet—and this is perhaps the basic paradox in his thinking—he has disarming enthusiasm for television's potentialities for diminishing slobhood in general. His eloquent argument for the use of great teachers on TV is one of the best chapters in the book.

Weaver's Wiles

Mr. Weaver of NBC would never call his audience either jerks or slobs, but his program of "Enlightenment Through Exposure," initiated three years ago, certainly implies that the level can be raised and that it is the clear duty of television to raise it.

Although Weaver is all for presenting purely educational or cul-

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tural shows "in the public interest" even if they must be sustained, he feels that enlightenment is most effective when it is intravenous, "by demonstration in sugar-coated forms all the cultural interests in which the public shows little interest. . ." Thus, he believes, a far greater number of people will listen to Helen Traubel sing an aria after she and Durante have done a buck and wing than might turn on a program of Traubel songs, and millions who would not ordinarily dial to a ballet program will see the City Center Ballet in action during a sketch in a Spectacular with Judy Holliday. In other words, don't throw it in their face; sneak it up on 'em.

Weaver followed up his "enlightenment" memo by instituting a system of "Responsibility Reports." Every month every director and producer of every show on the network must submit one to him. First there is a chart of the week's programming, in which zeros mean "no enlightenment" and "report" refers to typed explanations, numbered accordingly, of what the enlightenment consisted of. Thus you can see that a soap opera provided no public uplift for four days of the week, while on "Howdy Doody" on February 8, say, there was a homily on good manners.

The zeros are really as important as the affirmative reports, for they represent the conscience of the unhappy director who has enlightened nobody. If there are too many zeros, Weaver calls him in for a talk.

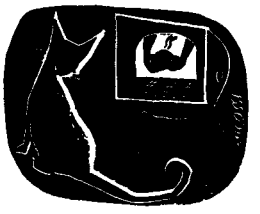
IT IS EASY to smile at this, as many "intellectuals" will, and to wonder whether the performing of a child prodigy every Thursday on Pinky Lee's show really constitutes enlightenment, or whether the appearance of Dr. Norman Vincent Peale as the protagonist of "This Is Your Life" relieves the show of its innate bathos and indecency. There are several such instances in which the sugar-coating of the format makes the cultural pill difficult to swallow without gagging.

It is also very easy to wince at such Madison Avenue terms as "Operation Frontal Lobe" and "Operation Junior Frontal Lobe," the latter of course for the uplifting of the young. "Weaver," says one of his colleagues, "is a first-class huckster and a first-class idealist, and that's an unbeatable combination in this business."

But there is nothing to laugh at in the fact that more and more shows in "prime time"—the peak viewing hours of 7:30 to 10:30 P.M.—are expected to measure up in some way to this new concept of responsibility, whether it is in fresh and literate dramatic scripts (and these are on the increase) or in variety entertainment shows that bring to vast numbers of people an excellence of performance, whether in song or dance or humor, which they would never otherwise experience. This is what the exposure is: that people in search of entertainment and escape are given something more than these even if they do not ask for it and are not aware of it.

Network Control

The few will say, "I would rather listen to good talk, or go to a concert or a play," but how many



Americans can do this? Where would a woman in the valleys of Oregon see ballet? Or a man in the Ozarks hear Lily Pons? In what theater in South Dakota would you see a play as good as "Patterns"? These are questions that should be put to all who say with pride, "I never look at the thing," or who dismiss TV as the lowest form of expression. They are in danger of removing themselves from the common stream, which, if they joined it, might become less common.

They should be made aware that even without them, distinction is slowly coloring this commonness. There should be a measure of gratitude in the fact that the three personalities, for instance, who pilot the "package" shows that take up a third of all NBC-TV time—Today, Home, and Tonight—are as intelligent, decent, and sensible as Dave Garroway, Arlene Francis, and Steve Allen. Indeed, they are symptomatic (as are CBS's "Morning Show" and many other of its network programs) of increased editorial control on the part of the network and an increasing disinclination to let the advertising agencies dictate the programs of day or night with no concern for their context, function, or correlated effect on the viewers.

The networks are now borrowing less from radio and more from the magazines. A week on television is built like an issue, and that issue must have the proper balance of entertainment, information, and public service, of which the arts and pleasures of living (actually of leisure) play a larger and larger part. A good case can be made that teaching women how to cook well and decorate their homes and telling men how to build and finish furniture are indeed facets of "enlightenment," and that the constant presentation of public problems—whether it is the blind, the aged, the crippled, or the young, and no matter in what irrelevant context—does make for human awareness and conscience.

This television is doing—never enough for some of us, perhaps, but more and more for most of us, and not as a part of a special Sunday pattern of culture or by consciously "uplifting" programs, but in those hours when almost everyone turns the knob to see almost everything.

How About Participation?

There are several questions, though, that neither Mr. Wylie nor Mr. Weaver cares to bring up. One is: Can enlightenment come only from the outside, without the active involvement of the subject? Does the assumption that (to quote Mr. Weaver) "Five years from now the average adolescent will be able to name on sight every important personality from politics, every world-famous individual from any field" mean that we shall have a truly enlightened public? Or could it mean that we shall have been exposed to a multitude of facts and sights without the capacity to make sense of them? Is it not possible that even now a great many people would prefer their enlightenment "straight," and that these people are worth programming for on a larger scale, even if this were at first costly for the network? Isn't the real goal to make the enlightenment so good in and

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for itself that it constitutes entertainment—in the manner, say, of CBS-TV's "You Are There"?

Television's answer to this is always that if you put a ballet with Markova on the same evening hour as Jackie Gleason, everybody will turn to Gleason—"everybody" being possibly five and a half million out of six million. But are the half a million who would turn to Markova to be sacrificed? Or is it all right to be exposed to enlightenment but not to be enlightened?

The Sponges Need Squeezing

Another question for the Messrs. W. and W., a tough one: If, as you assume, the average American spends three or four hours of the day before his television set—in other words, his leisure—at what time and in what way does he show his enlightenment? Do you listen to gardening hints or do you garden? Do you learn to cook sole amandines or do you cook it? Do you look at Horowitz or do you practice piano? Do you listen to Jack Paar or do you read the paper?

The answer might be that we are heading for a twenty-hour work week, in which we shall have time to do as well as to look. But just now passivity seems to be a requisite for the new enlightenment, and we are becoming sponges in urgent need of squeezing.

As for us "intellectual critics," I wonder if Mr. Wylie would have written his book and Mr. Weaver his memorandum if we had not written about television. «»

Intimate Confessions Of an ex-Book Editor

LUISE PUTCAMP, Jr.

FOR A TIME I was book editor of a paper in a medium-sized city. Then I quit and suddenly it struck me that I'd never heard of an ex-book editor.

Where do old book editors go? Do they give lectures on "Authors I Have Known by Their Publicity Features"? Do they go kicking booksellers, clubwomen, and people with manuscripts as they would like to? Do they write a book?

The answer to this last is that they know better. The last thing in the world an ex-book editor would do is write a book. But he might read one, because when he was book editor he hardly had time.

He had time to read publisher's handouts, trade magazines, rival book pages, and letters from old ladies who detected scandalous double meanings in his last column. But books—! He has unwrapped them, thumbed through a few, even taken some home. As for reading them, he was like the little mouse the psychologists drive mad by surrounding it with more cheese than it has time or capacity to eat.

Well, I've come to the conclusion that all the other ex-book editors have died in the swivel chair, a sort of *risus sardonicus* on their lips, as if one more wit had just asked them whether they had read any good

books lately. And as the lone survivor, I want to tell just how it was.

Christmas Every Day

The book editor has the best job on the paper. Everybody is always telling him so, especially when he asks for money. Isn't he getting all those books free? Why, he could start a lending library. Every day is like Christmas. The mail boy comes staggering in under a pile of packages. The book editor reaches for them. Is this the day everything will be different?

It isn't.

The top book is a novel called *White Collar, Black Hands.* To save the book editor the trouble of reading it, the publicity release enclosed lets him know that here is the story of a civil servant who has to dig ditches on the side to support his family, a tender, turgid fable of our times with strong sociological implications but still plenty of sex.

Underneath that is a volume so slim you can't see it when you turn it sideways. It bears the imprint of a publisher whose only requirement of an author is $500. Its title is *The Broken Lute.* The title poem:

The strings
Are broken on the lute,
The golden flute is still,
Nor sings
The nightingale on yonder hill.
So mute
My heart . . .

But now the reviewers descend. The chief editorial writer darts from his office and deftly extracts from the pile the only two books in it worth having. His deftness comes from long practice, through several dynasties of book editors. His library by now must look like something Andrew Carnegie should endow.

The police reporter ambles up. "They just aren't putting out any good books any more," he says from beneath the burden of his massive literary background. He shakes his head as at a bier. "Not a thing here worth reviewing!" He makes off with quite a few of the worthless books, but he must be right about them. He never turns in any reviews.

Before the book editor can put the remnants of the day's haul under lock and key, there is a tap on his shoulder. It's the little man whose only link with letters is a folklore book he's been writing and revising for twenty years. This is enough to get him on the fringe of every writers' conference and into the book editor's bookcase. When he isn't grazing through the review copies,

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he's seeing and being seen at the town's fashionable bookstore. The people there set their watches by him every day—and then run.

Fall Hegira

This business of reviewers is a delicate one because no money mars the pure indigent tone of the book page. Each reviewer gets only his book and his byline.

Little wonder most of the bylines on the book page are those of police reporters who can annihilate Hemingway left-handed, at the same time cherishing a vague belief that Thomas Mann is the author of an Act prohibiting the transportation of women across state lines for purposes better left unmentioned.

On most papers the Sunday book page is an eleemosynary institution, kept going in the name of prestige and public service. The managing editor periodically makes sure the book editor gets no delusions of grandeur. "Our last reader survey shows," he says, not unkindly, "that one-tenth of one per cent of our readers glance at the book page occasionally. Keep up the good work."

In the social as in the economic structure of the newspaper, the book editor rates somewhere between the janitor and the old man who writes the "Twenty Years Ago Today" column. The cub reporters who use the book editor's desk as a parking place will let him listen to their day's adventures at the county courthouse.

"After all," they say, "didn't you use to be in the newspaper game before you got this job?"

The book editor's brief glory comes in the fall, when he takes his New York trip. Even the cub reporters have to break down and envy him a little.

Nobody has even made it clear whether he's supposed to be impressing the publicity people or they're supposed to be impressing him. He has an idea it's a kind of uneasy impasse. The publishers take his lunches off their income tax and the newspaper does the same with his bill at the Waldorf and everybody is happy except possibly a few old spoilsport auditors. The rest of the year the publicity people dramatize their renewal of the personal relationship with the book editor by continuing to send him handouts under the stenciled name of a book editor who died in the great flu epidemic of 1918.

But for the ex-book editor, all this is past, all this and even more. There is nobody to plant a confidential elbow on his desk and ask truculently: "Say, what do you do with all those paperbacks?" The phone is never from a program chairman who wants a free ten-minute speaker on "The Century's Trend in Literature." There is no ad salesman with spaniel eyes saying that a certain bookstore might run an ad on a certain book if the book editor, by some coincidence, were planning a review of that book this Sunday. There are no printers turning from their comic books to say with quiet pride that they've saved the book editor's neck again by putting capital letters on e. e. cummings, as God intended.

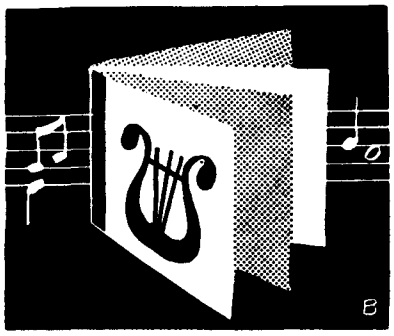
No deadlines, no Discoveries . . . heaven must be a lot like being an ex-book editor.

The Ordeal Of Henry Duffill

ROBERT GORDON

There was once a lover of music named Henry Duffill, whose tastes were both sound and generous. He had a fine high-fidelity system and a collection of more than five hundred superb records, ranging from Gregorian chants to Bartók. He subscribed to a symphony and a chamber-music series, and if he went to a concert he did not merely endure the Haydn symphony until the Richard Strauss began, nor did he leave after Haydn because he thought that music had ended with the eighteenth century. There was room in his world for both composers.

Henry's attitude toward new works by contemporaries was equally sane. He always listened to them very attentively, and if he enjoyed the piece he applauded with enthusiasm. If not, he clapped hands lightly in tribute to the performers for their honest and dedicated endeavor. In times when everyone was apparently supposed to choose sides and quarrel about something called "modern music," Henry kept his head.



But Henry had a weakness, and it led to difficulties. Under the delusion that the only way to understand music was to listen to it and that listening to music and actually hearing what was there was an activity calling for intense concentration, Henry never read program notes, popular books on music, or the backs of record covers. Had he done so he might never have gotten into trouble, for he would have become inured to one of the devices by which critics often try to scare listeners into a wholehearted acceptance of *all* modern composers—that of dwelling on the follies of past music critics who made the mistake of backing the wrong horses among the composers of their own day. Faced with a work about which he has nothing in particular to say, a commentator can always quote the long-departed critic of the Vienna *Zeitschrift für Musik* to the effect that Beethoven's Second Symphony sounded to him "like *Walpurgisnacht* among the water buffaloes."

Such quotations serve more than one purpose. They'll fill space; they enable one critic to make fun of another with no risk of reprisal; and,

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most important of all, if the critic has, say, a brother-in-law who is a composer, and whose twelve sonatas for basset horn and percussion have just been issued in a handsome recording by Egocentric Records, they help to create an attitude favorable

to their reception. What better way is there to support the cause of contemporary music than by ridiculing those who resisted our established masterpieces when *they* were contemporary? Any contemporary composer may be another Beethoven. Why not play it safe and pretend that he is, even if his music does sound worthless? Why risk the scorn of future generations?

The Terrible Discovery

But Henry knew nothing of such matters. Hence his amazement when he first discovered some of the nasty remarks that had been made about his favorite composers. He found them in a book that his wife, with the best intentions, had given him for his birthday. It was by Philip Finletter, a matchless producer of record notes, and was called *Little Lives of Big Composers.*

Most of the book consisted of elegant biographies of the masters, which Finletter had reduced from the usual sources, particularly *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* But the critic happened to have in his files a prodigious collection of surly comments by past critics, and these he sprinkled as seasoning throughout his book. When Henry read them he was dumfounded. It had never occurred to him that music he had always enjoyed could have stirred up so much hostility. Moreover, in his innocence and with the help of a few hints from Finletter, he fell into the trap and made the inevitable connection between the follies of dead critics and his own response to some of the contemporary music he had heard.

A week earlier, for example, he had nearly laughed aloud during a performance of Ignaz Gassman's "Etheriation for Mouth Organ, Timpani, and Theremin." Hadn't he been following in the footsteps of Bosworth Figgis, who a hundred years ago had written in the Manchester *Blade* that the Oriental water torture was as nothing compared to an evening of Mendelssohn? The idea was a disturbing one, and gradually there formed in Henry's mind the image that was to haunt him for weeks to come—of a many-headed creature called Posterity, busily giving Henry Duffill the raspberry for not recognizing the genius that flowered in his own day.

FINLETTER'S book soon had more definite results. A week after reading it, Henry was seen at a chamber concert that offered the world première of Sacheverell Netherbow's "Liquefaction in F Minor," written for six viols accompanied by centrif-

ugal water pump. Afterward he was heard to remark on the "significant new tonal textures" discovered by Netherbow. At a later program he vigorously applauded Millicent Griffon's "Keyboard Sonata in Five Minutes," a piece written faithfully to the rule that no single key could be pressed more than once. On this occasion Henry observed to his protesting wife that "The rejection by modern composers of the musical rhetoric of the nineteenth century does not, as some reactionary critics assert, imply a new lawlessness. Witness Miss Griffon's rigid adherence to her new-found principle."

But Henry's attempt to avoid Posterity's derision was not without its cost. Music—all music—began to lose its savor. When, for example, he heard a contemporary work that he enjoyed, he was frustrated in his efforts to express the degree of appreciation that he felt, for honesty here would have exposed his hypocrisy elsewhere. And so he became nervous and truculent in his efforts to keep up a front. He gave up his frantic search for good recordings of the Haydn symphonies and instead brought home Egocentric's new limited edition of Ferris Ferris's "Sixteen American Prolusions for Banjo, Castanets, and Snare Drum." And when he belligerently insisted on playing them again and again, his wife developed such a sudden enthusiasm for P.T.A. meetings and sewing circles that for weeks they hardly saw each other.

Redemption in Gottwald

What would have become of Henry had this situation continued we have, fortunately, no way of knowing. For one evening, at a concert of little-known eighteenth-century composers, the clouds were dispelled and he recovered his sanity.

It came about this way: Henry happened to be sitting next to Grayson Glossin, the critic of the *Times-Guardian.* Glossin was of an ostentatious temperament, and would sit with his notebook held high, writing his comments in such a large round hand that all those about him could read them. Henry, like the others who surrounded Glossin, was perfectly willing to behold the birth pangs of tomorrow's column, for little had happened since his reading of Finletter's book to destroy his faith in critics. The first selection on the program was Johann Gottwald's "Symphony No. 112 in C." Gottwald had been a member of the famous Mannheim school, and had produced a total of 174 symphonies,

83 oratorios, 29 Masses, 120 string quartets, 80 piano sonatas, and hordes of *divertimenti,* serenades, and German dances. He had also been officially endorsed as undeservedly neglected (*unverdient vernachlässigt*) by no fewer than six Ger-

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man musicologists. Naturally Henry was hopeful as the conductor raised his baton.

But his hopes were miserably disappointed. Almost from the beginning, with its twelve solemn C-major chords, repeated exactly, Gottwald's symphony revealed itself as one of those exercises that eighteenth-century composers wrote to keep their hand in. The slow movement consisted of twelve variations on a theme so inane that Henry couldn't remember it even after the interminable piece, with all its repeats duly adhered to, had run its course. He was all the more surprised, therefore, when he saw Glossin's newly minted comment to the effect that the slow movement "exhibited moments of bardic profundity strongly anticipatory of the later Chopin."

After the lugubrious minuet had galumphed up and down the C-major triad for what seemed a terribly long time, Glossin wrote: "A sturdy rustic dance, a true *Mannheim* minuet, lacking, perhaps, the wit and elegance of Haydn's or Mozart's achievements in the same vein, but nonetheless possessing certain four-square virtues of its own." The finale was, if anything, worse than the other movements—a chatty pastiche of C-major passage work. Yet the audience applauded vigorously, the conductor bowed in genial self-satisfaction, and Glossin scribbled away in an ecstasy.

By this time, however, Henry was busy with thoughts of his own—thoughts that were to lead to the recovery of his pre-Finletter state of balance. He was coming to understand that if Posterity, as represented by Glossin and the rest of the audience as they applauded Gottwald's symphony, could be such a priceless idiot, it wasn't worth worrying about. For a delicious moment Henry identified himself with the angry listener at the symphony's 1772 première who had, according to the program notes, "derisively snatched off the composer's wig and placed it upon the rear end of the Elector Palatine's horse." No longer was Henry disturbed by the similarity between such responses and his own. Future generations, he thought, might applaud the works of Ignaz Gassman or Millicent Griffon, but there was no terror in this possibility. Folly, like good sense and good music, transcended the passage of time and the succession of generations.

HENRY DUFFILL is once more a lover of music. He goes to a great many concerts and listens hopefully and intently when new works are played. If he enjoys what he hears, he applauds with enthusiasm. If not, he claps hands politely in tribute to the performers for their honest and dedicated endeavor. And when someone asks him if he likes Bartók or Berg, he says, "Yes, I like some of his work, for example . . . but some of it I don't like, such as . . ."

But when he is asked his opinion of Sacheverell Netherbow's "Liquefaction in F Minor," his answer is very much like the opening of Beethoven's Fifth: terse, elemental, and delivered *con brio.*

The Growing Abuse Of an Ancient Power

ALAN BARTH

GRAND INQUEST: THE STORY OF CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS, by Telford Taylor. *Simon & Schuster. $4.50.*

NO CONGRESSIONAL investigation could be more timely or more important than the investigation made by Telford Taylor into the uses and the contemporary abuses of the Congressional investigating power. The subject has immense significance for the American people. For the power to investigate, an indispensable adjunct of the power to legislate, has been used of late in dangerous and destructive ways. It has been used to aggrandize the Legislative branch of the U.S. government at the expense of the Executive and Judicial branches. And it has been used to intrude the authority of the government into areas such as education, religion, expression, and voluntary association from which it has traditionally been barred in this country—and, indeed, in all free societies. In the name of protecting the American people from totalitarianism, investigations into so-called "subversive influences" have been used to expand governmental supervision of American life in an alarmingly totalitarian pattern.

Congress, concerned about the excesses of its own committees, has begun to consider ways of curbing them. But the diverse proposals and bills submitted on the subject are concerned mainly with procedural reform. Mr. Taylor is quite right in asserting that

> The true remedy is not to try to adapt investigative committees to functions that they were never intended to and never can properly perform, but to repulse their incursions into the domains of the executive and judicial branches and their trespasses on the Bill of Rights, and confine them to their proper functions. Codes of fair practices will not accomplish this. And that is why the proposed codes and the procedural reforms which they are intended to bring about, laudable and desirable as they are, do not strike at the root of the problems we have been considering.

Grand Inquest examines a number of these problems and sets them in perspective. This is not a doctrinaire book. Save for a fundamental commitment to libertarian values, its author approaches his subject without prejudice or excitement and with a balanced understanding of the importance of investigation as a legislative tool. He traces, with a

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wonderfully illuminating selection of cases, the growth of the legislative investigating power from its seventeenth-century origin in the English Parliament through its early adaptation to the needs of colonial legislatures in America and its employment by the U.S. Congress. He shows

the importance of investigation as a means of obtaining the information requisite to lawmaking. And in a detailed account of the first Congressional investigation—an inquiry by a select committee of the House in 1792 into the disaster that had befallen General St. Clair's expedition against the Indians in the Northwest Territory—he demonstrates the value of investigation as a device to enable the Legislative branch to check and supervise the actions of the Executive branch.

Very early, however, legislative bodies, especially when in the grip of inflamed emotions and tensions, succumbed to the temptation to use the power for partisan and vindictive purposes. Mr. Taylor provides some interesting examples of this tendency from investigations undertaken in the 1850's under the malign influence of the "Know-Nothing" movement.

'Illusion of Omnipotence'

The power to investigate is not unlimited. In the United States, it is circumscribed by the provisions of the Constitution; Congressional investigations, as Mr. Taylor points out forcefully, are legislative acts and may not be employed for a purpose not authorized or in a manner prohibited by the Constitution. Nothing in Mr. Taylor's invaluable book is more useful than his assault on what he calls "the illusion of investigative omnipotence" and his clear elucidation of the limits that courts—when they have spoken on the subject—have consistently prescribed for investigative activities.

The Supreme Court has declared repeatedly, as it did in *McGrain* vs. *Daugherty* in 1927, that the investigating power is not plenary and may be exercised only within bounds of pertinency and without invading areas of privacy reserved by the Constitution. "A witness," said the Court, "rightfully may refuse to answer where the bounds of the power are exceeded or the questions are not pertinent to the matter under inquiry."

The Supreme Court has been far from clear, however, in defining the privacy upon which Congressional committees may not trespass. It has shown a conspicuous reluctance decisively to check or challenge this power as it has been exercised in contemporary searches for disloyalty and subversion. The Supreme Court has yet to invalidate a single Congressional inquiry as an abridgment of the freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment.

MR. TAYLOR makes some caustic observations about liberals and New Dealers who defended and applauded the rather rough investigating methods employed by Congressional committees in the 1920's and 1930's but who are repelled by the techniques of the committees investigating "subversion" in the 1940's and 1950's. He shows, however, that there has been an accelerating debasement of investigative procedures in recent years and a toboganning disregard for the rights of witnesses. For example, an opportunity to cross-examine accusers—counted among "the essential decencies" thirty years ago—is now almost uniformly denied to persons haled before investigating groups.

Moreover, there has been a significant change in the focus of the investigations. Where the investigations of the 1920's were concerned with corruption in the Executive agencies and those of the 1930's centered on unhealthy forms of "economic royalism," the more recent investigations have aimed at exposure of heterodox political beliefs and affiliations. And, as Mr. Taylor points out, the central vice of these contemporary investigations lies in the fact that their manifest purpose is not to obtain information for remedial legislation but to punish errant individuals for "dangerous thoughts" or for abhorrent associations. The purpose of a Congressional investigation is really the vital test of its validity.

"Investigations," Mr. Taylor sums up with admirable succinctness, "are an invaluable legislative tool for detecting and diagnosing diseases of the body politic, and providing the factual basis for informed legislative policy-making. But investigating committees are totally unsuited to assume the duties of either the policeman or the judge. As detective agencies on the trail of criminal or dangerous individuals, they all too frequently prove themselves amateurish bunglers. As courts to determine the culpability of individual behavior, they are usually far too political, passionate and prejudiced to do justice."

IN ADDITION to its brilliant review of the history of Congressional investigations and its incisive exposition of the law governing their scope and conduct, *Grand Inquest* presents a most discerning discussion of the

privilege against self-incrimination and an astute analysis of needed reforms in investigating procedures. This is a lawyerlike book in the best sense of the term—a product of penetrating legal scholarship and a mature understanding of American political institutions. It is a book that renders distinguished public service in the balanced exegesis of a critical American problem.

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Troubled Hans, The Cobbler's Son

NORA MAGID

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN, by Rumer Godden. *Knopf. $2.50.*

OF ANDERSEN'S *Fairy Tales,* his compatriot the writer Jens P. Jacobsen once said, ". . . a new prose was born in Danish literature; the language acquired grace and color, the freshness of simplicity." This deceptive lucidity is so characteristic of the *Tales* that it survives even the pitfalls of translation, and Rumer Godden has caught it beautifully in a small, tidy biography, one of the first issued by Knopf in its "Great Lives in Brief" series.

If this is a sample, the new venture will be eminently successful. With none of the over-ripeness and near-flamboyance that color her own creative output, Miss Godden tells the strange story of the perennial stranger, that saddest of poets and most isolated of men, beloved of children everywhere but himself always detached and childless. "Life itself," he said, "is the most wonderful fairy tale," but his own life was marked by deprivation, economic and emotional.

The son of a poor and sickly cobbler, Hans Christian Andersen from the beginning knew security only in his own dogged assumption that he was destined for fame. The village seer bolstered his claim: "He'll have a better fortune than he deserves. He will be a wild bird who shall fly high, great and noble in the world." The bird analogy was apt. He was tall and skinny and gawky, the ugliest of all possible ducklings. And there was absolutely nothing to indicate the dimmest possibility of transition to swanhood. He was always odd and always misunderstood, wildly garrulous and chaotically creative. He tried many schools and many trades; he failed at all. But the naïve faith that "First you suffer terrible things, terrible things, but then you get to be famous" sustained him.

In Copenhagen the cycle continued. He went ahead obstinately in all the wrong directions. He had to make unsuccessful attempts to be a dancer, an actor, a singer, before he arrived at literature as his vocation; and then he had to struggle to achieve belated literacy (with the aid of a state grant) and function inadequately on many literary levels. He wrote mediocre novels, plays, epics, travel books, and librettos, and even toyed with the stream-of-consciousness. He came to the fairy tale only by chance. Needing money while awaiting publication of his autobiographical novel *The Improvisatore,* he wrote "The Princess and the Pea" (in mockery of an overfastidious friend) and three other little stories. When in surprised response to demand, he issued a second series of *Fairy Tales,* he said with a shrug, "Really I should drop these trifles and concentrate on my real work."

Nevertheless, Andersen went on to write 168 *Tales* in all, and they constitute his unique and enduring gift to the world.

MISS GODDEN includes in her account of Andersen's life a perceptive critical chapter on his work. With something of Andersen's own economy and imaginative precision, she analyzes the many-leveled complexity that exists within the artless perfection of the form.

And she places the man himself in his own setting. There are poetic descriptions of Denmark, that fairy-tale country of blue and silver sea, shining church spires, and medieval castles. There are pointed incursions into the social history of the nineteenth century, with its lingering brutalities amid the hopeful outcroppings of new civilization.

But most of all, she depicts Andersen the man in all his tiresome and pathetic vanities, his gaucheness and immense moodiness. He see-

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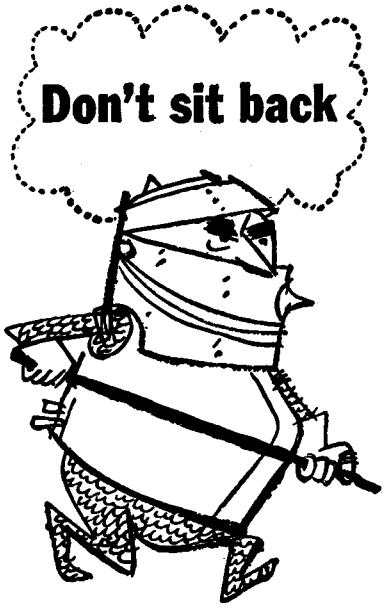

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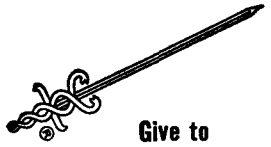

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sawed continually from easy tears of joy to easier tears of disappointment. He never married. He never belonged to anyone or to anything. Even when he thought he had found affection, he often met with rebuff. He visited the Charles Dickens family and loved them. But when he left, Dickens tucked a note in the dresser mirror saying, "Hans Andersen slept in this room for five weeks; it seemed to the family ages."

At seventy and near death, Andersen finally recognized with wryness that the community of childhood had claimed his genius for its own. Thinking ahead to his own funeral, he advised, "Most of the people who walk after me will be children; make the beat keep time with little steps."

Reflections on the First Soviet Interregnum

THEODORE DRAPER

THE INTERREGNUM 1923-1924, by Edward Hallett Carr. *Macmillan. $5.*

THE FOURTH VOLUME in Professor Carr's monumental history of Soviet Russia could not have come out at a more opportune time. It is impossible to read about the struggle for power in the shadow of the dying Lenin without thinking on turning almost every page of the struggle for power in the wake of Stalin's death. For those who are tired of wading through the swamp of speculation about what is going on in the Kremlin today, it will be a relief to tread on the solid ground of history.

When Lenin's health gave way for the second time in December, 1922, the crucial problem of the succession arose. When he was reduced to incoherence the following March, his disciples were left on their own. By the time he died in January, 1924, Stalin was ready to claim the leadership. It is with these thirteen months of Stalin's rise and Trotsky's fall that *The Interregnum* deals.

Stalin did not consolidate his power for five more years. After getting rid of Trotsky, he had to dispose of Zinoviev, the man who had been his invaluable ally against Trotsky, and then he had to dispose of Bukharin, the man who had been his invaluable ally against Zinoviev. It is thus possible to think of the interregnum as a much longer period than Professor Carr makes it, as lasting until the early months of 1929, when all opposition to Stalin's power, both at home and in the international Communist movement, was finally stamped out.

For all the circumstantial differences between 1923-1924 and 1954-1955, some major long-range analogies appear. Perhaps that is why this volume is so much more stimulating than the preceding ones.

Professor Carr writes dead-pan with only an occasional remark that betrays what he thinks. At least one reader, however, could not resist drawing his own inferences and conclusions from the struggle for power in Soviet Russia, then and now.

Chronic Imbalance

In those days there was also an agricultural crisis. The Bolshevik leaders attempted to overcome it with the N.E.P.—the first of the Soviets' periodic "new" economic policies. It had the effect of favoring the peasant over the industrial worker, of encouraging the consumer industries at the expense of heavy industry. It alleviated one problem only by aggravating another, thereby forcing the régime to cut it short and zigzag back to a more orthodox policy, which in turn produced the conditions for another peasant-consumer crisis.

The interests of the Russian peasant and the Russian consumer tend to coincide: The first thing the consumer demands is more of the products that only the peasant can provide; and the peasant works

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harder in order to get more consumer's goods. A policy that aims at improving the standard of living takes the form of favoring both the peasant and the consumer; a policy that aims at expanding heavy industry has the effect of punishing both the peasant and the consumer.

In effect this zigzag has been going on for more than thirty years. It raises the question whether it is any more possible for the Soviet Union to have a balanced economy today than it was at the very outset. One sector of the economy is pulled up only by exploiting the other sectors of the economy. Since the peasantry is generally capable of only passive

resistance, it is open to the most exploitation. On the other hand, the economic planners have been forced to cope with an almost permanent agricultural crisis that cannot always be ignored or suppressed.

In Professor Carr's book, this economic disease occupies about 150 pages. He took a calculated risk by putting them at the very beginning, and some readers may find the going irksome. They will barely be able to wait until they get to the more exciting political maneuvers and the interplay of personalities in the next 200-odd pages. But this arrangement has one merit: The political and economic quandary in which the Soviet founding fathers found themselves underlay the struggle for power. It still does, as Khrushchev has recently taken pains to make clear.

THE MORE one studies Soviet development, the more one is driven back to the beginning.

A relatively small group of Marxist revolutionists started out by devoutly believing that Russia was the last place in Europe where socialism was likely. They had come to intellectual maturity with certain ideas deeply ingrained in them: that the necessary economic conditions for revolution existed only in the most advanced industrialized countries; that capitalism would be overthrown by the largest and strongest proletariat rather than one of the smallest and weakest; and that, therefore, Germany represented the key to the socialist revolution. It does not matter whether these ideas were true or false; the important fact is that these Russian Marxists considered them true. Professor Carr cites the catechism that Trotsky composed in New York just after the March, 1917, "democratic" revolution. When he asked himself whether a Russian revolution could take place without a German revolution, he simply refused to face the issue: "Really, we need not rack our brains over so implausible a hypothesis."

THE IDEA that Russia had far to go before it would be "ripe" for a socialist revolution was so deeply ingrained that none of the Bolsheviks in Russia were thinking of a seizure of power when Lenin arrived on the scene from his long exile.

Lenin overcame the scruples of Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others, and, above all, he convinced himself, by dint of a variant of the classical Marxist conception. The Russian revolution was still dependent on the European revolution; only unforeseeable circumstances had somewhat altered the rigidly preordained sequence. It was all right to seize power in Russia immediately because a revolutionary wave was about to sweep over Europe. This was the supreme irony of the Bolshevik revolution: It took place on the basis of a line of reasoning that was false even in terms of Marxism. It is doubtful whether Lenin would have gone all out in favor of the seizure of power if he had not been so certain of the imminent European revolution.

Day after day, week after week, then month after month, the victorious Bolsheviks waited for the Euro-

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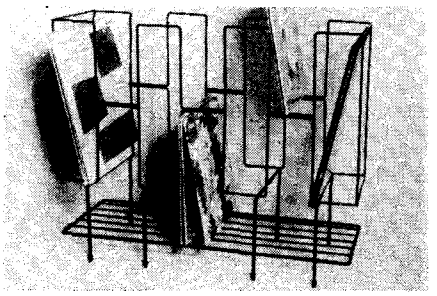

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pean revolution that never came. Once they realized that they had miscalculated—providentially from the viewpoint of their own power but catastrophically from the viewpoint of doctrine—they were plunged into an intellectual vacuum. They could not turn back and there was nothing in their creed that told them how to go forward. If they could not make a revolution according to their principles, henceforth they were doomed to make a revolution without principles. Ever since, this has been Marx's grim sardonic revenge for the fact that they took his name in vain.

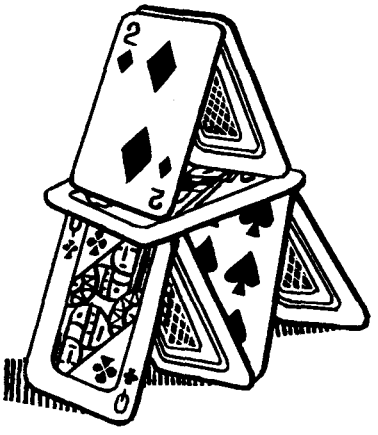
'We're on Our Own!'

In Lenin himself the cycle began and ended. It ended when he fully realized and publicly admitted that there was nothing in the "old books" about the new economic policy they were pursuing. In the spring of the last active year of his life, 1922, Lenin uttered these words: "It did not even occur to Marx to write a word about this subject; and he died without leaving a single precise quotation or irrefutable instruction on it. That is why we must get out of the difficulty entirely by our own efforts."

In effect, at the very moment that the Bolsheviks had to put their theories into practice, they discovered that their practical position made their theories utterly useless. There was only one thing to do—improvise. They have been improvising ever since. The N.E.P. was the first desperate improvisation to stave off economic disaster. It set in motion a political struggle for power that could not be settled on the basis of principle because there was no longer any accepted and relevant body of principles to which appeal could be made. Such a situation was made to order for a man like Stalin, who had demonstrated the most extreme caution in all the great doctrinal controversies but who knew intuitively how to manipulate the inner-party machine.

Stalinism became a system which wholeheartedly accepted the *status in quo*—the presumption of "building socialism" backwards, by taking political power first and creating the necessary economic conditions afterward. It made a virtue out of a necessity. Trotskyism was a nostalgic outcry for the *status quo ante*—a return to the orthodox assumption that an isolated revolution in Russia was a political monstrosity without a revolution in the more advanced industrial countries. It was crying over spilt milk.

The post-Lenin interregnum was also filled by a "collective leadership," which demonstrates how little novelty there is in the "collective leadership" of the post-Stalin interregnum. The first interregnum did not last any more than the second one is likely to last because collective leadership requires a collective allegiance to higher principle. When the old allegiance broke down—a process that Lenin began and Stalin



completed—the way was opened for power to take the place of principle.

Trotsky is the tragic figure, if not the tragic hero, of Professor Carr's study. It is still a matter of some wonder why a person of such brilliance and courage should have made such a poor showing in those crucial months when Lenin's life was ebbing away. There was in Trotsky's behavior almost a touch of abdication. He fought back like a man who knew that he was condemned to fail. In his autobiography, Trotsky himself expressed a sense of fatalism about his defeat. In the final analysis, he admitted, Stalin's strength was derived from the failure of the European revolution. Without it, Trotsky's program was fine for literature but not for practical politics.

Professor Carr makes the most of the drama of the dying Lenin brooding over the danger of Stalin's succession and finally bringing himself to the point of proposing that he should be removed from the general secretaryship. For Trotsky, at least as he rationalized the situation later on, everything hinged on Lenin's survival. Thus was born the great "if" of Soviet history—if Lenin had lived in full possession of his powers for only a few more months, would Trotsky have been swept aside and could Stalin have maneuvered himself into power? There is something ghoulish about Lenin's last bedridden year—the clear evidence of his dissatisfaction with his handiwork set against his agonizing inability to do anything about it.

Into the Jungle

Professor Carr's book makes us think anew of the nature of Soviet leadership and "collective leadership." In the period with which he concerns himself, there was still sufficient freedom of debate to get a detailed inside view of what took place. The thirty years of Stalin's ascendancy were the outcome. Because the Bolsheviks took power in a way that they had never contemplated, they had to, as Lenin put it, "start learning from the beginning." They were like teachers of one language suddenly called on to teach a different language. Before there was a political crisis, there was an intellectual crisis. Before the Soviet régime became a political jungle in which some men could rule only by force, intrigue, and improvisation, it had become an intellectual jungle in which all men had lost their way.

In this situation, Stalin's weak points hurt him the least and his strong points helped him the most. For Trotsky just the opposite was true. The doctrinare lost out to the improviser at the very moment when the doctrinaire himself was tempted by the lure of power to depart from his own doctrine. The fall from grace came at the moment of the greatest triumph, the victorious Bolshevik revolution. We have been accustomed to think and talk in terms of the "Communist revolution." There was rather a revolution made by Communists. The men who made it could never escape from the paradox that they won power not because of their principles but in spite of them.

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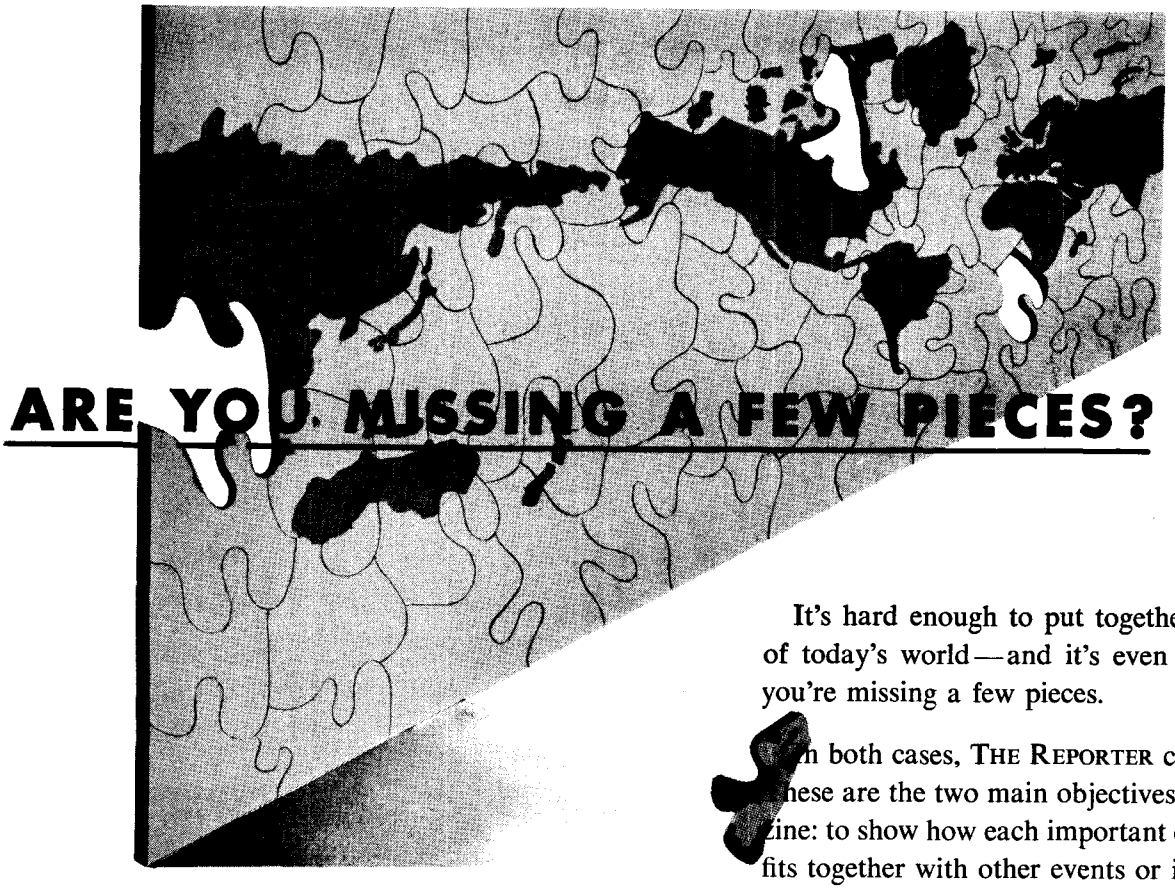

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